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India's fascist Prime Minister Narendra Modi has emphatically pronounced that his government will be corruption free government. But the reality has been totally opposite. Since his assumption to power, Modi's economic and foreign policies are centered on the interests of Comprador bourgeoisie and imperialist foreign capital.

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This regime of finance capital has unleashed a gang of fascist leaders all over the globe in order to suppress the mass democratic movements. The model of development that prevail sustains the economic and political power of the ruling classes. This model of development has to -be subdued for the emancipation of the masses and that is only possible by building strong mass movements under the leadership of working classes, peasantry and the toiling masses.

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Global economy growth is expected to further stagnate from an estimated 3 percent of last year to 1.9 percent. Imperialist countries like US, United Kingdom and European Union have slided into recession and going to face further contraction. Several anti labour policies are being taken by puppets of the capitalist in order to appease capitalist for investment. In the coming days the credit supply is going to be tightened and the investment in the productive sectors will slide down. This will cause tremendous pressure on the working class to get employed as because of the economy entering into the slump.

Mounting Working-class Struggles

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The economic and financial crisis that started in 2008 put the whole world in turmoil. In a way the capitalist system is in a disorder thus making the proletariat of the world turbulent. While the proletariat of the semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries are in the path of struggles, the new trend is the struggles of the proletariat of capitalist-imperialist countries.

One Year of Imperialist

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It is high time to build movements on the slogan of "BAN NATO", 'BAN Nuclear Weapons'. Imperialist wars only makes capitalists class more rich and the working class more pauperized. Communists must mobilize large section of people against the Imperialist wars all over the globe.

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The agenda of BJP and RSS behind EWS is to make the already weakened reservations for social and backward castes communities dysfunctional and to deviate the masses from building mass movements against the growing unemployment and pathetic social and economic conditions.

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INDIA SINCE ADANI STORY

T he editorial's prime focus is on the pertaining conditions of Indian economy that facilitated the emergence of what is famously propounded as crony capitalism. The editorial also touches the implications of Karnataka election, and its impact on the trajectories of Indian politics prior to 2024 Parliamentary election.

By the time Adani purchased the Hafia port in Israel in the month of January of this year he was the richest man of Asia and third richest man in the world. But his downfall journey began with the publication of Hindenburg report. The Adani episode has itself brought forth the question of the India's growth model that germinate oligarch like Adani. In the past eight years, Adani's wealth has taken a steep rise of 800 percent that is almost above 100 percent every year. Contemporary Indian growth saga starts with the untenable changes in the functioning of the global Capitalism in the early 90's. With the fall of Berlin Wall and subsequently with the collapse of Soviet Union, the western media bloated the 'triumph of Capitalism' or 'the end of history' emphatically.

Keynesian economics that dominated the global capitalism since post war period, whose basic tenets was based on the necessity of the welfare state as the driving force of the economy was considered null and void for the global capitalism in 1980s. As soon as with the collapse of the Bretton Wood system Keynesian economics became a scrap- heap for capitalism and soon it was discarded as obsolete. In place of it, the theory of Chicago School took the center stage in the world economy- the theory that is famously referred as neo- liberal theory. It was propounded by it that state primary role is to boost the 'animal spirit' of capitalism and for that matter refraining from regulating market was considered to be viable for the state.

For the easy flow of capital from one region to another, banks removed all barriers in this field by 1980s. Foreign capital especially FII, FDI and loans from the World Bank flooded the markets of Asia, Latin America and Africa. India too became victim to the dictates of Neo-liberal policies. The capital that has an easy entry gate, there also lies for it an easy exit gate. Foreign capital in collaboration with comprador bourgeoisie with a whip in a hand started dictating the economic policies of the Indian state. In this new period attack on working class, peasantry and the toiling masses has tripled. Profit of the capitalist class has went to an unbelievable heights but the wages of the working class has drastically come down.

Adani fortune was built through his investment in high capital intensive areas and from easy financing from banks. Under this period of Neo-liberal economy of global Capitalism, state has become more authoritarian and fascist in nature and any hurdle in the way of capital is brutally suppressed. Modi in his pursuit of placing India in the global supply chains has further grotesquely suppressed the rights of the working class. Apart from this, government decision to disinvest in public sectors turned out to be a boom for the capitalist class like Adani, Ambani, Tata, Vedanta and many others. Through merger and joint ventures with foreign capital, comprador bourgeoisie amassed huge amount of profits. However, this collaboration has led to technological dependence on imperialist countries and that has made the Indian ruling classes subservient to it.

The unleashing of a process of land grabbing also contributed to the rise of Adani and Ambani. Displacement and dispossession of peasants and tribal from their native habitat, turned them into landless peasant and unorganized working class. Hence, state was able to provide land to the ruling class at a throw away price. As it was projected by the IMF and World Bank that the opening of the Indian economy will lead to a boom in the industrialization of the nation, but what has precisely neo- liberal policies has done to the Indian industry can be termed as "industrial infanticide". Small petty industries along with several national industries has been gutted down since the opening of the Indian economy. The presence of huge reserve labour army in contrast to active labour itself is tell- tale of the conditions of the Indian economy. Due to the withdrawal of price support system for cash crops and other crops as well, we have seen an absolute decline in the per- capital income of the peasantry. This has caused to farmers suicide numbering around lakhs in the last two and half decades. Privatization of the national assets and withering away of progressive tax policies at a lighting speed has killed the revenue generating potential of the government. Much of the mobilization of the tax revenue has been from the indirect tax revenues rather than from direct tax revenue. This truth of suffering of the Indian economy has created huge 'wealth-at-one-pole-and-poverty-at another'. The growth model has produced highest number of poor people staggering at

228.9 million who are struggling to survive even from hand to mouth. In contrast to this due to the very same growth model, we saw a rise in the number of billionaires in India from 102 in 2020 to 166 in 2022.

Since his assumption to power, Modi's economic and foreign policies are centered on the interests of Comprador bourgeoisie and imperialist foreign capital. In Adani matter, instead of building mass movements on a national scale and giving calls for national strikes, the parliamentary opposition parties are whimsically demanding for Joint Parliamentary committee (JPC) without putting enough pressure on the BJP government. However, all Parliamentary parties have willfully implemented the policies that has nurtured bounty of profits for the Comprador bourgeoisie. As the ruling class ideologues propounds in front of the TV screen that 'There is No Alternative' (TINA), the crisis of global finance Capitalism is alive and kicking. Working class movements has raised itself after a brief period of slumber. In India, slowly but steadily masses are then and now registering their dissent against the fascist regime. What is imperatively required by the revolutionary forces is to concentrate and bring the scattered dissenting forces under one umbrella of opposition. We must keep in our mind that against fascism "United we stand, Divided we fall."

In India, neoliberal policies has facilitated the growth of communal politics that in no time have squeezed the Indian society under its claws. Karnataka was the only state in South India where BJP was ruling intermittently the last decade and a half. The defeat of BJP in the recently concluded election in Karnataka has proven that people of Karnataka has rejected the idea of India that BJP carry in its womb. However, this is not the first time BJP has lost election at the state level after coming to power at the center in 2014. But, with change in time and space of Indian politics, the Karnataka verdict is in its own way is ubiquitously unique. Karnataka was turned into a laboratory of Hindutva politics in South India after BJP formed government in 2018. Hindutva agenda of ban on hijab, halal and Azan demonized the Muslim community. Further, by creating a myth on Tipu Sultan, BJP and RSS had antagonized the Kannad society the most. Cow slaughter ban in the state made cattle trade illegal that turned the already distressed farmers more helpless. Discrimination and repression on tribal and oppressed castes aggravated them. This was the social consequences of Hindutva. Hence, there was a huge shift of votes of the oppressed castes to congress. On economic metric, BJP and RSS through its policies tried its best to lure the foreign capital and comprador bourgeoisie. Local industries and business class suffered an unprecedented loss in the BJP regime. Land grabbing and dispossession of peasants from their land, and increase in the fertilizer costs was the fundamental reason behind the rural population going decisively against the BJP in large number. The increase of working hours to 12 hrs. in Karnataka made the working conditions more distressing and alienating. Huge inflation in the prices of the basic commodities intensified the anger among the working class and the toiling masses in Karnataka. Decision of BJP to merge Nandani Milk cooperative with Amul Company triggered the birth of regional consciousness. No one can deny the role of civil society, working class and democratic organizations numbering in hundreds in their everyday fight against the Hindutva politics at the ground level. A movement called "Eddure Karnataka" (wake up Karnataka) under the leadership of various civil society and democratic organizations helped to build mass consciousness against the irrationalism that Hindutva politics represent. The electoral set back of BJP-RSS in the recently concluded state election in Karnataka shows the growing discontent of the masses against the BJP-RSS politics. Congress party was successful in the Karnataka election because it capitalized on the discontent that was brewing up against the Hindutva politics with class approach and with prism of social justice. The myth of "double engine sarkar" of BJP has been buried alive.

Congress party this time in Karnataka did not got entangled itself with the politics of soft Hindutva, which it was holding very close to its heart. While the fascist pinned its hope on the reactionary Hindutva mass programs and the blitzkrieg campaign of Modi. The people of Karnataka acceded to politics of social justice and has out rightly rejected the use of religion for political gains. Though Congress party is talking about alternative economic model, but how far it will be successful to come out from the shackles of neoliberal policy is not clear enough right now. With the defeat of BJP in Karnataka election, once again parliamentary opposition parties are loaded with the sense of unity in-itself. BJP and Adani will try to bring down this structure of opposition unity. One of the fundamental nature of fascism is that it remains intolerant to any short of opposition against it. Attack on opposition parties have increased after the Adani episode came into limelight. Not only the Parliamentary parties are the target of BJP, but it is trying to scuffle every single opposition voice rising against it. Though BJP has been rout out from Karnataka, but it will be an exaggeration to say that it is the end of BJP in Southern India. It vote share in the election has remained intact, and to label struggle against hindutva to an electoral arena will be a political amateur understanding. Battle against this ideology is beyond the election. It is a battle that is going to be fought on streets, in every corner of our society.

UNION BUDGET 2023:

AN ATTACK ON THE TOILING MASSES

Budget (2023) presented by the union Finance Minister showers melancholic drops over the masses. The budget is a valuable tool to judge the approach of the government towards the people, their development, and prosperity. But the present budget like all other previous budgets of the fascist BJP government, is an attack on the toiling masses. In her own words, Union Finance Minister termed the Budget as the budget of "Amrit kaal", but there is Amrit only for the capitalist classes and poison for the common masses. The budget has ignored the fissures, that is outrightly visible on the Indian economy. By looking at the essence of all the budgets, we get a familiar paraphrasing sentences, Budget for the people, Budget for development and many others. Behind the scene, in its hidden abode the reality of budget rest. In this Amrit kaal, the Indian toiling masses are witnessing unseen, unheard sufferings and pains; it is losing its blood from its body on every day. And the present budget has acted to intensify those pains.

Agriculture Sector

Though the majority of the rural population has been severely hit by the ongoing crisis and among them the worst affected are the small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers. But the budget fails to utter even one word for those classes in the rural population. It has totally failed to increase the farm income which remains a choice between life and death for Indian farmers. There was no

mention about the debt cancellation of the farmers. What we can see that this budget is more Adani- Ambani dictated. This is indicated by the fact that, the increase in the budget for agriculture has been alloted to agriculture research credits that is dominated by the comprador bourgeoisie, landlords and imperialist classes.

Indian agriculture still persists to be monsoon dependent and the budget has failed to improve the irrigation facilities. The cardinal focus of the budget on agriculture is on credit and Agro business. The central government has increased the credit to agriculture by 20 lakh crores. But that is not the demand the farmers are asking for. They are demanding for MSP and reduction in input costs, but that remains unheard. The stress has been given on diversification of farms which means shift from food crops to cash crops and agro processing under the dictates of WTO. By laying importance on credit organization, it clearly means that the money lenders and corporate classes are going to benefit, whereas the small and marginal farmers will be left the under mercy moneylenders.

The budget has totally sidelined one of the crucial problems been witnessed in the agricultural sector, that is the collapse of the commodity prices and increase in the input costs. The small and marginal farmers' incomes are collapsing like a house of cards and this at a time when input costs are the touching



the sky. This has led to a scenario of immense accumulation of debt in the agriculture sector. The government strategy is to transform agriculture into corporate market oriented has failed to generate conditions for accumulation of Profit for small and marginal farmers and even large farmers. The logic of neoliberal policy is all about expenditure cutting and has played crucial role in integration with the global market. Due to indebtedness, farmers are unable to meet the cost of consumption or what Marx calls "cost of reproduction". In order to overcome such structural crisis in the developed countries, the government takes up various subsidy programs, whereas in the under developed countries under of the pressure WTO, governments are removing the subsidies for farmers. The government is taking revenge from the farmers by slashing around 22 percent in fertilizer subsidies. All this it is doing in the name of organic farming. Even there has been huge cut of 11.76 percent in the PM Kishan Scheme.

Medium Small and Micro Enterprises (MSME)

With all the projections of India being the fastest growing economy, the hard reality remains hidden in the mainstream economy and that reality is about the sufferings of the masses under BJP rule. Still today, after 75 years of independence, around 90 percent of labour force is confined to informal sector. A very small amount of labour force is employed in the organized sectors and even this sector is falling to generate new jobs every year. In the financial year 2022-23, around 10,655 micro, small and medium enterprises have closed down and this is the highest in the past four years. This informal sector constitutes around 30% of the economy and 40% of the labour force has been struggling from demonetisation, GST and Pandemic. The sector was holding high hope on the budget but all went in vain. Out of the total 6.33 crore MSMEs in India, 6.30 crore are micro enterprises and that amounts to 99 %, 3.11 lakh are small units, and only 5000 comes under medium enterprises. In terms of workforce, micro units employs nearly 11 crore workers, small enterprises employs 32 lakh, and medium enterprises employs just 2 lakh workers. It is clear that, it is the micro sector that generates more employment in the MSME sector, but the budget has failed to do anything for the micro unit.

Food Subsidy and MNREGA

The government has reduced the food subsidy by 31% in the union budget of 2023-24 and that at a time when unemployment is at around 7%. The government decision to reduce the food subsidy goes against the supreme court direction to the union

government to re-determine the population allocation under National Food Security Act (NFSA) which remains stagnant since 2011 as the government has failed to undertake Census 2021. In a protest meeting organised in Delhi by Delhi Rozi Roti Adhikar Abhiyan (DRRAA), Senior supreme court advocate remarked that more than 10 crore people have been excluded from the NFSA because the act did not take into account the increase population.

In 2022 budget, a total of 73,000 crore rupees was allocated to MNREGA and according to Revised Estimates, the probable allocation for it stood at 89,000 crore. However, in the budget 2023 the total allocation was 60,000 crore. After deducting administrative costs and instruments costs, the net amount will be 42,000 crore. From these 42,000 crores it will be a pipe dream to pay 229 per day to workers for 100 days.

This reduction in food subsidy is at a time when the number of straving people in India has increased from 190 million (2018) to 350 million (2022). In a report submitted to Supreme Court, government itself admitted that around 65 percent of death among children under age five had occurred because of hunger in the year 2022. Within the spam of one year there has been no miracle that has reduced the poverty rate in India. According to Human Hunger Index Report, India is ranked at 107th position, and it means that the danger of hunger is still very intact in India.

Health and Education

Pandemic brought the real image of our health sector in front of the world when people died in hospital because of lack of oxygen cylinders. But still government is adamant in its approach and has

not learned any lesson from the pandemic. When in most developed countries, we see state in the forefront in the health sector but in India, the government remains at backfoot. Instead of enhancing the health sector, government has cut down around 33% in Ayushman Bharat and 1% in National Health Mission from the previous budget. The budget enlarge the scope for the privatization of the health sector.

Since BJP government came to power, the expenditure on education has steadily declined. The fund for the education empowerment schemes has been reduced by 33% from the last year's estimates. The fund for National Education Mission has been cut down by 2%. The BJP spending government education has dropped down from 0.63% in 2013-14 to 0.37% of the GDP in 2023-24. It is tragic to see the deduction more sharply in school education than the higher education, and that too at the time when there is higher number of drop outs from schools' post pandemic. The Budget encourages privatization of education and knowledge by excluding the marginalized communities and working class from the education system.

Marginalized communities

The Budget has totally shown communal agenda by sporadically cutting down the allocations that remains essential for the inclusive development and progress of the marginalized communities. There has not been any substantial increase in the allocations for different ministries that work for the empowerment of the marginalized communities. Hence, the budgetary allocations for TSS (Tribal Special Scheme) was supposed to be 10% of the total budget expenditure, but it was allocated just 2.7%. What is really disappointing is that even this allocation which is meant for the welfare of the schedule Tribes, is been used for various other government projects. The budget for the welfare of STs shows a massive increase of 33% over the previous year, which has been contributed mainly by the increase in the allocation by the Ministry of Road Transport and Highways, which reported an increase of Rs 18,830 crore in the allocation towards tribals under 'works under roads wing'. With crores of money are been spend for the construction of roads and highways which has no intricate connections with the development of tribal population. The real intention behind this fraud is to loot the resources and minerals in the name of welfare schemes for tribals. It has not at all focused on establishing primary health center and anganwadis in the tribal regions. There has been no mention for minimum support price for minor forest produce. Overall, budget allocations for tribals are inadequate and full of frauds.

BJP government has totally sidelined the minority ministry with a massive 38% cuts in its budget allocation. The central government has already discontinued Maulana Azad National Fellowship and Nai Udan (support for students clearing prelims of UPSC and state commissions exams). There is a huge cut in several empowerment schemes, skill development schemes, livelihood and special schemes for minorities under Ministry of Minority Affairs. This clearly states the nefarious agenda of the BJP government to treat minorities specifically Muslims and Christians as second-class citizens.

Capital Outlay and Employment Between the period 2014-15 and 2023-24, the growth in capital outlay has increased by 26.3%. In the same period, the annual nominal GDP has grown by 10.3%. By taking into consideration of inflation than capital outlay has increased by 20.6% and the real GDP by meare 5.3%. So, there is a contradiction between capital

outlay and the growth of GDP. To overcome from the impediment crisis of capitalism, there been injected increase in the capital outlay. Even the previous capital expenditure has failed generate investment and employment, and that is clear from

the period 2019-20 to 2022-23. In this period, central capital expenditure has grown by 29%, whereas Gross Fixed Capital Formation (which is an important means to measure the amount of investment) has merely grown by 12%.

From 2012-13 and 2023-24, the central capital expenditure has gone up from 1.6% to 3.3% of the GDP that means it almost got doubled what it was ten years ago. On the other side, capital formation has dipped from 33% to 28% of the GDP in the last ten years. By following the supply side policies, government is of the opinion that concessions to corporates will lead to higher investment and boost growth. But that has not happened. The capitalist class in India did not invested in the manufacturing sectors but diverted to finance sector, towards intangible goods. The consumer confidence index of the organized sector remains at 85, while prior to pandemic it was 104. For that reason, capacity

utilisation in the organized sectors is too low for higher investment.

Between 2018 and 2019, India witnessed highest slowdown of its growth since 1991, with unemployment averaging 7.2% as per the data provided by CMIE. Global unemployment averaged around 5.7% in that period.

Between 2016-17 and 2021-22, the total job created in the sectors allied to Infrastructure.

Sectors affiliated to	Total Reduction of
Infrastructure	Jobs in percentage
Roads and Highways	84 percent
Job growth: In construction sector	6 percent
In cement sector	62 percent
Metals Sector	10 percent
Mining Sector	28 percent

Meanwhile, the labour participation rate has fallen from 42.9 per cent to 39.8 per cent over the same period. At present, conditions still remain stalemate. There was no mention of unemployment in the speech of Union Finance Minister. As per the government own data, the unemployment in 2022 was much higher than it was a decade ago. In the national income of India, the bottom 50% have just 13% of the share and the top 10% of the population have a share of more than 57%. It means that majority of Indians earns around 10 thousand or less than it on monthly basis. In 1994 the share of government jobs in the organized sectors used to be around 12% and by the year 2020 it came down to 4%. From 2014-15 and 2021-22, the Modi government gave around 7 lakh jobs in government sector, but the total job applications were above 22 crores. It means that in this period of eight years, the share of job out of the total applications applied stands at 0.33%.

The rationale behind the growth of an economy is all about improving the living conditions of the people. One of the important

indicators for judging whether the living conditions of the people has improved or stagnated is to analyses real consumption of the masses. In the period 2019-20 and 2022-23, the per capita real consumption expenditure has increased by less than 5%. In spite of witnessing changes in the skills and composition of the labour force, the real wages have still remained stagnant.

Debt and its effect

Government debt to GDP ratio has increased from 75.7% from the last decade to around 84% at the current level. In terms of Gross market borrowing, the fiscal deficit is immense in quantity. The government is going to borrow around 15.4 lakh crore and in a year from now, its debt will amount to more than 50% of GDP. This government borrowing or debt comes at a time when the government is reducing income tax for the rich and giving tax concessions to the corporate sector. Such a huge pile of debts is going to impact the Current Account Deficit and thereby directly impacting the real growth of economy.

India have performed recklessly in its export and import sectors, as India's share of global export have taken slight increase from the average rate of 1.8% to 2.0% from the previous decade. In the first quarter of 2022, the share rose to 1.96%. But the reason behind this increase is driven by oil exports (thanks to

cheap imports from Russia). In November 2021, the share of oil products in total exports was 17% whereas by August 2022 it had increased to 23%. However, nonoil exports have witnessed stagnation and even decline in the past one year. On the other side, India's Imports have been rising steadily. In the third quarter of 2022, import share went to a historical high of 3% and that at a time when global exports fell to 1.78%. Instead of providing greater protection from imports, the government has lowered custom duties on a range of imports in the budget 2023-24. This caused havoc on the local capitalists and small manufacters and traders.

Budgetary hoax for middle class

With much fun fare government announced New Tax policy and stated it as a bonanza for the middle class. The new tax policy is not going to offer any real benefits for the middle class. As the new tax slab has been increased to 7 lakhs, but there is no attempt by the government to reduce the EMI or the interest rate, which affect middle class across the sections. With inflation and recession around the corner, such relief remains useless. In the new tax regime, the government has removed various concessions that one used to get in pension savings, on LIC and House loans. All these has been done away in the new tax regime. Even those who are earning between 7lakh to 10lakh has to pay 30% of their income in tax, whereas those whose profit is above 5crore or more a year, government has reduced the surcharges from 42.7% to 39%. However, the new tax policy is going to benefit a

minuscule class of population as in India around 5.9 % of the population are able to pay income tax, while 94 % have to bear the brunt of indirect taxes, subsidy cuts and high prices.

Conclusion

In its report named as Global Economic Prospects (Jan 2023), World Bank stated that global economy is about to slated down to 1.7% in the year 2023. In the year 2024 it is expected to grow at 2.7%. The per capita income in developing countries will be around average 2.8% which remains a full percentage lower from the period between 2010-2019 average. India has the highest number of poor people in the world and it is around 228.9 million. The number of billionaires increased from 102 in 2020 to 166 in 2022. In terms of wealth inequality India also share the highest pedestal in the world. The richest 10 percent owns more than 70 percent of the total wealth, the top 5 percent owns more than 60 percent of the total wealth, and the top 1 percent owns more than 40 percent of the total wealth. After Modi came to power, there has been an immense concentration of wealth in the hands of few capitalists. With Adani's fiasco all known, it has also become clear that Adani rise was facilitated with the rise of Modi as the Prime Minister. After Narendra Modi was declared as BJP's Prime Minister candidate, Adani's shares market value jumped to a high of 65%. Hence, Modi-Adani alliance is nothing but corporate- Hindutva alliance. Such nexus is the common picture of all fascist regime, and in fact fascism was defined by Mussolini "as the

continued on page no. 24



ADANI: HINDUTVA - CORPORATE NEXUS

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m A}$ dani was once listed as the second richest person on the planet and his wealth estimated to be \$ 155.5 billion (September 2022). The revelation by Hindenburg on January 24 about Adani's growth reality brought catastrophic free fall of Adani in the global market. By January 31st, Adani lost around more than 5.2 lakh crore following the release of 160 pages research document by Hindenburg. It had to suspend FPO worthy of 20,000 crores after the exposure. The Adani episode is all about the control of foreign capital and comprador bourgeois of the Indian market and overall a dominance of finance capital.

Astounding rise has been marked in the Adani's growth which has been accompanied with the political rise of fascist BJP and Narendra Modi. According to Forbes, the total wealth of the Adani's main holding companies was just 70 million dollars. But in just a decade, Adani could augment his wealth to 20000 million dollars, a growth of over 300 times. Whereas, in the eight years of Hindutva- Corporate regime, Adani's wealth has grown by over 800 percent, a growth of above 100 percent every year. Around 85 percent of Adani's wealth was incurred in the last three years and its growth has been fueled by high debt touching around 2 lac crores.

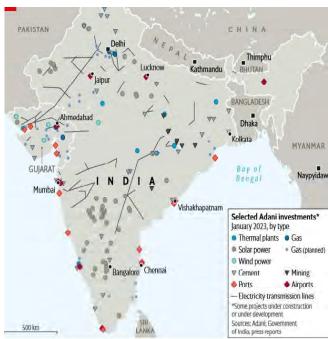
Total debts of some of Adani's
$conglomerates\ by\ March\ 2022.$

Adani Enterprises	Rs 40,508 crore
Adani Green Energy	Rs 53,612 crore
Adani ports and SEZ	Rs 45,752 crore
Adani Power	Rs 48,796 crore
Adani Transmission	Rs 32,870 crore

Adani has certainly enormous presence in key sectors. Adani has seven airports that handles 23 percent of Indian passenger traffic. In 2019, Government of India in the name of disinvestment and to revenue generate privatised six batch of airports at a throw away prices. BJP facilitated the take over the airports by Adani through changing the rules that allowed a company with no prior experience to become one the biggest airports

owner group. Apart from that, it owns Dozens of ports (that trades around 30 percent international freight), cement industry (recently acquired from Ambhuja), largest coal fired power plants, food retail market (Wilmar), storehouse. Recently it has shown its interest in Green Energy, telecommunication, semiconductor and broadcasting. With French company named Total Energy, Adani went in partnership with an investment of 20 billion dollar in Green Hydrogen.

Bourgeoisie economists opines that the role of the state is to clear all barriers in path of profit. Engels lucidly explains the nature of the state and in his words, "....state from the need to hold class antagonism in check but because it arose, at the same time, in the midst of the conflict of these classes, it is, as a rule, the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which, through the medium of the state, becomes also the



politically dominant class thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class."Adani rise has to be seen in the context of Indian state economy policy with the turn of the century. Before the embrace of neoliberal policy by the Indian state, the capitalintensive infrastructure areas were the domain of public sectors. Even after a decade of the neoliberal policies in India, private players largely remained aloof from investing in the infrastructure sectors. Behind this two fundamental reasons can be stated, in the first point it is because this sector requires large investments and stands on the scale of high risk. Secondly, the pricing policy of the government in this sector were such that profits were less compatible with profits made in other sectors. However, with the structural changes in the Indian economy under the dictates of World Bank and IMF, the Indian state initiated a series of tax concessions and subsidies to both domestic and

foreign capital for investing in capital intensive infrastructure projects. With its repressive mechanism of armed forces, the Indian state was able to uproot people from their lands and livelihood. Lands were grabbed by the state for these oxymoron class which survive on the ruthless exploitation of the masses.

Between 2003-07, India experienced a "typical credit boom". The flow of foreign capital doubled. With such unprecedented flow of capital, the banks were lashed with money. It started lending money to investors in infrastructures (mainly private players). The share of bank credit to GDP rose to 50 percent in 2007-08 from 35 percent in 2002-03. In the meantime, government started the model of public private partnership for the development of infrastructure like roads, bridges, ports and airports. Corporate players before 1990s kept themselves unavailable for investing in capital sectors, but with the turn of the century, it was the capital sectors that has been dominated by the private players. Easy loans with low interest rate, made this task to be possible. As a matter of fact, the share of infrastructure in bank credit rose from 9 percent in 2003 to 33.5 percent in 2011. According to CMIE capex database, Adani group has announced its desire to implement 191 large projects amounting to capital of 7 lakh cores and already has completed around 123 projects worth of one lakh crore. All these projects have been funded largely by the public sector banks. About 40 percent of the debt of Adani comes from financial public banks and the rest are from foreign banks. What is interesting to note is that while the debt- equity ratio of Adani

group is higher when compared to other capitalist. The fixed assets of the Adani group remains low in comparison with other corporate class. The average growth of fixed assets for the nonfinancial companies in the past three years was around 5.7 percent, while that of Adani was -1.7 percent. By manipulating its stock price at an inflated rate, Adani was looking for an easy credit. Through the use of shell companies of Vinod Adani in Mauritius, Cyprus, UAE and in Caribbean islands, Adani carried out "round tripping", stock holding and manipulation in order to show strong solvency and healthy financial health of the Adani companies in order to avail credit from the financial banks.

Capitalism is driven by the logic of production for the sake accumulation of profit and for the corporate class taking infrastructure projects turned out to be an profit-making machine. With labour force mostly dumped in the unorganized sectors which encompasses low wages, and no additional securities, the cost of production was of no concern for the corporate class. Whatever the boom was witnessed in the period was accustomed by grabbing of public assets, government subsidies, tax concessions and pillage of natural resources through breaking the protecting legal arms for the environment. Between 2006 and 2016, India became the "world leader" in the public private partnership (PPP) model of development. By the end of December 2012, there 900 around over infrastructural projects different stages "implementation" under PPP model. Through this model state is able to transform it's profit to

the corporate class and incur their loss substantially

In the last two decades, there been immense class polarization in Indian society and this is not because of "natural order" of society but its reason lies in the self-expanding logic of capital itself. The real contraction of real GDP growth depicts the contradiction between production capacity and consumption capacity. The industrialization model adopted by India failed to transform India into an independent and strong base for self-technological development. Indian industries had learned to use and adapt the most sophisticated technologies but their inability to develop it, still haunts the industrial sector. By the end of 1980s, Indian industry spread to new areas and there was a close oligarchic bond between the business class in these new areas.

Adani ownership of Mundra port is a classic example of nexus between comprador bourgeoisie and the Indian state. A total of 7,350 hectares of land in Mundra at a throw away price of 1 cent per square metre was handed over to Adani. On a portion of land Adani has constructed a port, a thermal power plant (4620 megawatt) and SEZ. All stamp duties were exempted for thousands of lands acquired for SEZ by the Adani group. Apart from these economical hazards emanating from Adani group, several ranges of irreversible impacts on environment have been done by this" biggest con in the corporate history". Pure benevolence was bestowed upon Adani when he was plundering Mundra for his insatiable appetite for profit. In fact, most of the surplus for these projects was

poured out from the pockets of the state government of Gujarat of whose Chief Minister was Narendra Modi. A report by Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG)- of 2013-2014 has noted down the undue favours by the Gujarat government to major industrial houses leading to a loss of Rs 750 crore of state exchequer in a single year. Along with corporate entities like Reliance Industries Limited (RIL) and Essar Steel, Adani Power Limited was also one of the key beneficiaries of government largesse. All rules of finance were thrown in dustbin by the Modi government for securing the interest of Adani. State Bank of India has sanctioned around 1 billion US dollar for coal mining in Queensland in Australia and because of that, the most sensitive zone on earth the Great Barrier Reef are going to be devastated. Even before the election result of 2014 the stock prices of Adani were rising. It clearly states that both the comprador bourgeois and foreign capital have shown complete faith upon Modi.

The high GDP growth between 2003 and 2008 was fueled by the inflow of foreign capital and high credit availability. After global financial crisis, the inflow of foreign capital revived but growth did not pick up as it was noticed before the crisis. There are number of reasons behind the slowing down of growth but two of them are worthy of being mentioning. The first was huge accumulation of debt by the third world countries. Second, lending of credit by the public banks to private investors for infrastructure projects. This created a scenario of huge fiscal deficit leading to the curtailment of government spending on the

basic necessities of people. However, the boom that Indian economy witnessed did not aligned itself with the masses. In fact, it totally resided itself with the demand of the upper echelons of society. The corporate sectors had borrowed heavily from the public banks for heavy infrastructure projects but failed to repay those credits which later on created the phenomenon of NPA. Instead of going for the nationalization of those assets, the loan repayment was restructured and even fresh loans were granted to the corporate

Corporate sectors have turned its begging hands towards **External Commercial Borrowings** and this became a matter of bone of contention between the government and RBI. However, RBI had to bend on its knees before the government and the restrictions on Borrowings from ECB was taken off the picture. Hence, we see an rise in the external debts from 27.1 percent in 2010 to 39.7 percent in 2019. Whereas credits to MSME sectors between 2015 to 2020 declined by 19 percent. (About 40 percent of output by the manufacturing sector is done by MSME). With the introduction demonetization around 4 million jobs were lost the in the informal sector. Further if we see than the picture becomes harsh with GST and Pandemic lockdown. Between 2017-18, the total employment fell down by 5 million. This further suppressed demand and growth. After BJP government came to power, tax concessions to corporates have taken a new height and because of that government revenues have remained on the path of considerable decline.

In order to recharge the corporate ravenous appetite for investment, the BJP state carried out mischievous changes in labour laws, environment laws, land acquisition law, mining and many others, all in the name of "ease of doing business" and this has become the "new normal" of state. Indian the The repercussions of this new normal is felt on the working classes, peasantry, small businesses and the marginalized communities. Entire domestic economy has been punctured in the name of ease of doing business. Monopoly capitalism leads to the slower growth of purchasing power and of the real wages. As a result, it is merely about not the concentration of business interest but also about the concentration of economic and political power.

The debt driven Indian corporate sectors are bread and butter case for foreign capital to take it over. Already number of corporates have sold their valuable assets to foreign capital or has handed the control of the firms over to foreign capital. In matters relating to Adani issue, foreign capital has found a readymade gold mine for exploration. The credit system though resembles the arena "common capital" of the capitalist class but that doesn't mean that it is devoid of internal contradiction and factional struggles. Finance capital is necessary for the accumulation of profit and without that capitalism will be buried alive. State is an agent in finance capital whose role is to collaborate and facilitate the growth of cartels and oligopolist associations.

As the government is going under the tremendous pressure of fiscal austerity caused by the

neoliberal policies, the remedial measures that imperialism in collaboration with the ruling classes dictates are privatization, corporations and partnership. Among these remedies, privatization is the most dominant form. The state informs its people that the drive for privatization is all about "increasing national wealth" but behind the hidden chamber it uses the money from privatization to meet its own daily expenses. From the last two decades the privatisation of public assets are going at a speed of a bullet. When the country was strangulated under the impact of Covid-19, the BJP government at the center under the leadership of Modi failed to bring any policy for generating demand of the toiling masses and safeguarding their purchasing power. On the contrary, it brought policy for increasing the wealth of the capitalist class through "Prime Minister's Economic Package in the Fight Against COVID-19". It all contained measures privatization of coal sector, mineral sector, power sector and many others. So, the program was to make rich richer and poorer poorer. The most astonishing matter is that, all the public sectors that has been privatized were making profit from the last five consecutive years. Privatization has not only benefited the few Indian comprador capitalist but the foreign capital equally has benefited with the privatizations of PSUs in India. Many foreign investors hold shares in the companies of comprador capitalist and make quick money. With the fall in the price of the shares of Adani, the mainstream media is too concerned but when the shares prices of the psu were underpriced through manipulation and later on was forced to privatise, silence was the norm of the day. There is a pressure on India from the global markets to remove all caps, controls and quotas for foreign capital on government bonds and as well on corporate bonds. The pressure is for to facilitate the free entry and exit of foreign capital. For that matter, Adani issue is one the important case study to understand the dominance of foreign portfolio in India's equity market.

With the world economy remains in risky water the danger of getting drown is very high for developing countries like India. In this era of the hegemony of finance capital an sudden outflow of capital can bring the nation on its knees as it happened to several East Asian countries in 1997 and recently to Greece. From 1990s onwards the control of economy by few pockets has created an unprecedented rise of social and economic inequality not only in India but all over the globe. Concentration of capital is a global phenomenon which has severely impacted the livelihood of the toiling masses. In the past few years, the public sector banks in India have written off around 11.17 lakh cores as loan money for the corporate class. Even in the Adani case, State Bank exposure to Adani group stands at 27,000 crores."LIC alone had invested Rs. 77,000 crores in the inflated shares of Adani of which Rs. 23500 crores had already been lost within four days by 30 January!" This all measures are part of the logic of finance capital to privatise the public financial sectors and public non-financial sectors, and make the country an easy prey to finance capital. It has

been gladly noted out by several intellectuals by calling the Adani fiasco as an problem of crony capitalism. The problem here is that capitalism since its inception has remained crony in nature. BJP and RSS came in the defend of Adani in the name of nationalism and this perfectly exposes the nexus of capital and hindutva fascism. The opposition parties had raised the issue of Adani in the Parliament during the budget session and demanded clarifications from government and Prime Minister Modi about its role in Adani's fraudulent rise, and even they demanded the set up of Joint Parliamentary committee for free and fair investigation in Adani issue. But, the government paid no heed to the opposition's demands and has mainted a complete silence over the matter. There is no ground on which Narendra Modi can continue to be the Prime Minister and he must resign as because of his direct involvement in the Adani scandal. The property of Adani Group must be consficated and nationalized. In the upcoming 2024 General election, the opposition parties are going to target the present Modi government in the Adani issue, and this will remain one of the central criticisms to build public opinion against the Modi government. This regime of finance capital has unleashed a gang of fascist leaders all over the globe in order to suppress the mass democratic movements. The model of development that prevail sustains the economic and political power of the ruling This model classes. development has to be subdued for the emancipation of the masses and that is only possible building strong mass movements under the leadership of working classes, peasantry and the toiling masses.

GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS HOLDS

THE NECK OF THE WORLD

- Subhas

 $W_{ith\,collapse\,of\,three\,major}$ banks over the span of few weeks has caused rippers in the global economy that is already heading towards recession. Hardly the global economy has recovered from the financial crisis of 2008, the destruction of productive forces in the Covid lockdown and from disruption of supply chains caused by the ongoing imperialist war. Now it is witnessing another financial crisis, though still in its infant stage, but already showing its impact over the whole world. The collapse of Silicon Valley Bank, Signature Bank and Credit Sussie brings back the question of fragility of the banking system in Capitalism. No longer one can term the present banking crisis to some operational dysfunctional factor. The present crisis is interwined within the system of capitalism. As Marx explains that Capitalism is purely an money economy where production is not for direct consumption, but for the sake of accumulation of profit. And the finance capital is also an integral part of this process of accumulation of profit. The crisis in the accumulation of profit brings the system to its knees.

Financial institutions converts surplus into money form by circulating interest bearing capital. In real economy, savings is possible only when there is a production of tangible goods but, that does not seem to be the case for banks. It creates money capital ahead of the production of values. The only limitation that Bank faces is the need to reserve some amount of money in order to meet any surge of demand for

money from its customers. When the bank fails to give money to its customers than that situation is called bank run. Precisely this what has happened to SVB and Signature Bank. As credit crunch is prevailing in the global economy and the interest rate is not taking the name to come down, this throughs a light on the crisis of profitability that global economy is undergoing and the slowing down of the production. The rate of profit has taken a downward turn in the real

the interest rate the prices of bonds declines which leads to decline of value of the bank assets. The Federal Fund Rate had increased substantially from 0.25 percent in February 2022 to 4.75 percent in February 2023. For a very long period after the financial crisis of 2008, the US Federal Reserve kept interest rate exceptionally low. This created an exponential increase in the supply of money in the market that was accumulated by the financial corporations to run their fictitious



economy which has made the fictitious capital to take the greater share in the economy. On the eve of the pandemic the US fixed net investment was 4.8 percent during the 4th quarter of 2019, and by the 4th quarter of 2022 it came down to 3.6 percent of the GDP.

The only way by which capitalism tackle inflation is through increasing the interest rates and by creating unemployment that is lowering the real wages of the working class. The unemployment has not declined if considered in terms of labour force participation rate. Almost all banks holds assets in bonds and when there is a rise in

business. The Federal Reserve decision to inject huge amount of money made it to print more money and that is one of the reason behind the present condition of high inflation in US. Argument based on the logic that the reason behind high inflation in America rests on Russian -Ukraine war is totally fallacious. Even before the war began, America was witnessing high inflation trend. Eighty percent of the US inflation had occured just before the war. In January 2022 that, means before the war commenced, inflation had already risen from 0.1 percent in May 2020 to 7.5 percent. Between the period 2020 and 2022, the US GDP growth was only about 5.3 percent, an annual growth of 1.7 percent. In this period the US government brought huge stimulus package at a time when inflation was highest in the last 40 years and production was in its lowest ebb. Most of this stimulus package was designed to bring the capitalist class out from the crisis.

In response to 2008 financial crisis, the US Federal Reserve and several other Central Banks of the capitalist countries adopted bizarre monetary policies like of lowering the interest rate to almost zero. This led to supply of easy credit and on that base the structure of start up companies was created. As a result there had a boom of start up companies in the US and in European countries. In other to hold those finances of Start up companies and provide services to them their emerged the establishment of banks like SVB. The deposits in SVB increased with the "tech boom" in 2022. During pandemic, the federal reserve engaged itself in quantitative easing (QE) and we saw an rise of insured bank deposits from 5.5 trillion dollars in 2019 to 8 trillion dollars by the first of quarter 2022. The deposits of SVB increased from less than 5 billion dollar in the third quarter of 2019 to 14 billion dollar each quarter during the quantitative easing period. What happened in the due course is what Marx called making money from money. With the influx of money in the market, the start ups deposited the money it got from the American government in SVB and the latter used that deposits for leveraging. Before the pandemic, the total deposit in the SVB was around 50 billion dollars but, by 2022 the deposit went up

to 220 billion dollars in SVB. Before the collapse of SVB its loan tripled to 219 million dollar. For more than forty years, Silicon Valley Bank was giving loans to tech startup companies in America and was taking deposits from them. But the scenario drastically changed with the onset of high interest rate in America and there occured a shift in the policy of the US Federal Reserve from quantitative easing to quantitative tightening of money supply. Venture capitalists stopped financing to tech startup companies which made the latter in severe shortages of money. It led to the following consequences:

- a) As the US economy is in recession and the Fed decision to raise the interest rate has led to the increase of the cost of capital. As the supply of capital to startup companies dried up, it was forced to withdraw its savings for its daily services that were deposited in banks. Within a single day 42 billion dollar was withdrawn from the SVB bank.
- b) The supply of capital for fresh start up companies shrank and this created the problem of "liquidity crunch" for banks like SVB which runs through the deposits from the Start up tech companies. In order to meet the demand of its customers SVB had to sell its assets.

However, in order to pay its customers, SVB had to sale its bonds, but that failed to rescue it from the problem of bank run. The value of its bond declined from 91 billion dollars to 15 billion dollars because of the increase in the interest rate. With the fall of Silicon Valley Bank (SVB) on March 10, two other banks followed the trait signalling the coming of another financial crisis sooner or later.

Finance capital makes profit outside the production process that means independently from the process of employment of wage labour for the production of commodities. There is a difference between the methods of exploitation of wage labourer by the industrial capital and the finance capital. In the former, the exploitation rests appropriation of surplus value and in the latter, workers obligations to pay its wages for debts services are maximized. In order to protect the interests of 1 percent of the population of capitalist class, the Biden government has decided to bail out SVB and Signature Banks. However, it is not only banks like SVB that remains in the troubled water, but infact almost every banks in America and Europe are facing the heat of the next upcoming financial crisis. This effort by the Biden's government is nothing but privatization of profit and 'socialization' of losses. For this purpose fresh money need to be injected which is not going to overcome the larger financial crisis that is about to land. Global economy growth is expected to further stagnate from an estimated 3 percent of last year to 1.9 percent. Imperialist countries like the US, United Kingdom and European Union have already slided into recession and are going to face further contraction. Several anti labour policies are being taken by the puppets of the capitalist in order to appease capitalist for investment. In the coming days the credit supply is going to be tightened and the investment in the productive sectors will slide down. This will cause tremendous pressure on the

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MOUNTING WORKING CLASS STRUGGLES - RISING

REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION

-Neelima

Making true that this is 'the era of imperialism and workingclass struggles', the world is witnessing an unprecedented great spurt in the struggles of workers since the end of 2022. The economic and financial crisis that started in 2008 put the whole world in turmoil. In a way the capitalist system is in a disorder thus making the proletariat of the world turbulent. While the proletariat of the semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries are in the path of struggles, the new trend is the struggles of the proletariat of capitalist-imperialist countries. The two main countries are the US and France. Let us have a look into these struggles and view the prospects of a new wave of revolutionary struggles.

Speaking about the world economic scenario, International Monetary Fund (IMF) stated that '2023 will be 'tougher' than 2022 with the economies of the US, EU and China slowing down'. Being an imperialist institution, the IMF states Ukraine conflict, rising prices and interest rates and unceasing COVID in China to have been exerting impact on the global economy. Anyhow, a true analysis shows us that the world capitalist order is in an irrecoverable general crisis leading the oppressed people and nations of the entire world more and more into the path of revolution.

The present new trend is the rise in struggles of working class of the imperialist countries. While Europe had been witnessing an increasing intensity in working-class struggles for the

past above four years, US is the present hot spot. It is a well-known fact that the US economy is in severe decline. This decline is showing effect on the economies of other imperialist and capitalist countries and also on the semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries. The present trend is an indication that 'imperialism is the

was formed after a bitter struggle against the management.

The employees of Amazon also held protests in more than 10 countries such as Argentina, Ireland, South Africa, Palestine, Bangladesh and Australia. In New York city they held demonstration in front of Jeff Bezos's house. In Starbucks, the first union was



death-bed of capitalism'. So, we need to keenly observe what is going on in this 'all man's land'.

In the US, workers are struggling for their fundamental right to unionise. There was a steep increase in working class struggles in the US the number one imperialist country, the biggest economy and the chief gendarme of the world in 2022 and the trend indicates more in the coming days. In fact, major strikes including 1,000 or more workers were not seen for quite some time in the US. There were 187 in 1980 that reduced to 16 in 2021. Now these numbers are rising. Amazon, Starbucks, Google etc. made labor laws disallowing Trade Unions. The total workforce of Amazon is 15 lakhs in the entire world out of whom most are workers. It is a well-known fact that Amazon Labour Union (ALU)

formed in Buffalo in New York in 2021 December following which workers in 250 places voted to form unions. Now College Professors, farm workers, grocery store personnel of Starbucks, laborers at Amazon warehouses, Google cafeteria workers, delivery drivers, Apple employees, staff at restaurants such as chipotle, chocolate makers at Hershey's, clerks from Dollar General, Williams-Sonoma, autoworkers and video game designers also are in struggle.

We see a wide range of workers and employees taking up struggle. For the first time in the history of US nurses are on strike. 7000 nurses started to strike demanding pay hikes and rise in the staff in a hospital in New York. The New York State Nurses Association criticise the management of the hospitals for

recruiting lesser staff in view of profit. In Minnesota, 15,000 nurses were on a three-day strike and 700 nursing home workers in Pennsylvania. Coming to other sections, over 1,100 timber workers in Oregon and Washington, over 4,500 teachers and staff in Columbus, Ohio, more than 6,000 teachers and staff in Seattle, 2,000 mental healthcare workers in California, 1,200 casting plant workers at Stellantis in Indiana. In Railways that is one of the vital sectors in capitalist production, workers were on strike in November 2022 demanding either paid or unpaid sick leave.

There was an academic strike in US that was the largest in history and the biggest of the year. Forty-eight thousand graduate students and academic researchers under the banner of four unions went on strike in the University of California against the adamant attitude of the management. The management was not ready to come to an agreement and did not accept the more than 20 petitions against anti-labor practices. While one group reached an agreement, it is not ready to go back to work until the other units are also agreed upon. Hundreds of Alabama coal miners have been on strike for 20 months. These apart, there were more than 1,000 work blockades since the time of the pandemic in 2020 in Payday Report.

Meanwhile the US Congress passed a law holding the strike of Railroad employees illegal. The workers were fighting against the new system started by the Railway companies. According to this system, working hours increased but workforce was reduced by forty thousand jobs. Employees are forced to work even when sick. They lacked guarantee of job. The Railway

Labor Act provides the President and the US Congress to intervene in strikes and negotiations with the railroad union. The present agreement increases the wages of 1,35,000 workers but denies them of paid sick leave. The railway workers have been demanding sick leave. Although the Congress agreed for seven days of sick leave, the Senate has a say in this regard.

Major techies' major retrenchment

The situation is becoming more and more inevitable for the working class of the imperialist country to fight for better wages, shorter working hours and safe working conditions. Alphabet and Meta, the mother organisations of Google and Twitter respectively took up retrenchment in a big way. Major internet shopping company Amazon and computer giant Microsoft laid off a total of 20,000 workers within a gap of 2 days. This is the biggest number in Microsoft since 2014. A total of one lakh 20,000 workers have been laid off for the past two to three years in mega tech companies. In January 2023, Microsoft retrenched 10,000, Amazon 2300 and Google retrenched 12,000 workers that amounts to 6 percent of its workforce all over the world. Amazon plans to cut its workforce by 18,000 and other giant companies also are planning to do so. Employees left Twitter in large numbers after Elon Musk took up the company and announced that employees must 'extremely hardcore' at work or else they can quit.

Coming to Europe, almost half of it is in struggle in protest to inflation, cost of living crisis, demanding for pay hikes and relief for electricity bills and energy bills. In France, that was the heart of working-class struggles in mid-19th century, about 1.12 million people took part in protests in January. Of them, 80,000 were in Paris alone. More than 200 demonstrations took place across France on a single day as a part of nationwide strike against pension reform. On 10th January 2023, all the major Trade Unions in France gave a joint call to protest against the pension reforms proposed by the government. Eight leading French trade unions (CFDT, CGT, FO, CFE-CGC, CFTC, Usa, Solidaires, FSU) lead the strike. Young Communist Movement of France (MJCF) and other youth groups also called for protests. The largest protests were held in Paris, Marseilles, Lyon, Toulouse, Lille and Nantes.

The government revealed its plan to raise the retirement age from 62 to 64. This apart, it was made mandatory for the workers to work at least 43 years to get a full pension. This would come to effect from 2027. Earlier the government replaced 42 pension systems with one scheme, introduced a grade point system to ascertain pension amounts and other such things. Another union NUPES demanded their right to retire at 60 and described the reform as 'a serious social regression'. Train services, schools, flights and scores of businesses in France were disrupted. The people are much against the plan. The included demonstrators representatives of various industries, supporters of the Yellow Vest movement, as well as black bloc radicals. The protests included few violent incidents such as throwing stones, bottles, flares and firecrackers at the police. Armed officers used tear gas and batons on the protesters and tried to push away the crowd

by force. More than 40 people were arrested in Paris alone.

Workers of Amazon in France organised under SUD and CGT held a demonstration in front of the company's Bretigny-sur-Orge site near Paris while few stayed back home boycotting work. Demonstrations were held in the cities of Nantes, Lyon, Bordeaux, Marseille and Toulouse, and in more than 200 other places across the country. The strike affected schools with 40 percent of primary school teachers participating in the strike. Railways, Airports, Power plants and other essential services were held up. Only one of five highspeed TGV train lines worked. Eurostar cancelled several connections with the UK.

With the rise in unemployment, youth are angry with the government's decision of extending the retirement age. The government insists that this reform is necessary to save the country's pension system from deficit. Anyhow, the unions say that it should be supported by increasing taxes on the rich. The people also dissent the exploitation of workers even after a certain age.

In Germany there were demonstrations in nine out of the total 20 warehouses of Amazon in the country. Verdi union took the lead demanding the company to recognise collective bargaining agreements for the retail and mail-order trade sector and wage hike corresponding to inflation that is at its peak. The warehouse employees need to walk 15-20 kilometres per day.

In Austria fifty thousand railway workers struck work for 24 hours under the banner of Railway workers' union from the midnight of 28th November. This brought the rail services in 8

countries including Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Hungary and Czech Republic to a halt.

Militant agitations in United Kingdom

Coming to the United Kingdom, the government is privatising the public sector companies and dissolving the rights of the working class. Parliament passed a bill that provides power to the government to impose what they call minimum services. Now it can legally force the workers on strike to work.

Nurses, postal services, railway unions, aerodrome personnel, trade unions, firefighters, climate change activists, students, pensioners and households are protesting against the government over economic crisis from 15th Dec 2022. More than two lakh employees of all the sectors are in protest to freezes and real-term wage cuts that have been going on for a decade. This is said to be the biggest in the past three decades. The Royal College of Nursing in South London are on strike for the first time in the history of 106 years of the Union. Due to the low pay, 25,000 nursing staff left the Nursing and Midwifery Council register. The nurses are resenting a fall of 20 percent in wages of skilled nurses since the past more than a decade. They are demanding a rise of 5 percent and inflation bringing the total rise to 15 percent. Unable to sustain the poor working conditions, 25000 nursing professionals are planning to shift career.

In an interesting development, the picketing nurses put up a lifesize cardboard cut-out of a labour leader demanding him to 'get off the fence'. This was in protest to his ban on his members of his cabinet from participating with the striking nurses. The cut-out was given by the Momentum campaign group that supported the strike. In fact, a conference of the Labour party declared support of demand for rise in wages at least in line with inflation. Cities of countries like Italy, Romania, Germany, France etc. also witnessed protests of the working class.

This major strike apart, 40,000 railway employees of Britain are in struggle under the banner of the Railway union RMT.

In Latin America, Columbia is witnessing workers' struggles since the beginning of this year. Workers, peasants and environmentalists came together demand revoking environmental license to the National High way in Lizama sector between Bucaramanga with Barrancabermeja. They are against the Highway since causes irregularities. Demonstrators held regular blockades and protests. The exploitive state threatened the leaders of the struggle of death in spite of which the struggle against the mining project of COLCCO Company is going on with regular blockades. The slogan is 'COLCCO is not going'.

In Peru is now in news for the developments in regime change but it too had been witnessing struggles of workers since last year. Heavy cargo carriers' union took up an indefinite strike. The workers and people demanding lowering of price of fuels, cancellation of high tolls, cheap gas for people, more tracks and highways for people's products, tickets and freight subsidies. Rail workers were on strike. Peasants, self-employed workers, teachers and other such oppressed classes and sections are holding strikes all over the country.

Brazil, the biggest country of the continent is right now going through a chaos created by the defeated ex-President who is not ready to be out of power. The power struggle between the ruling classes is causing severe disorder for the people and so, they are continuously on the streets. The ruling classes of Brazil serve mainly both the US and China imperialists. They are committing the greatest crime of burning the Amazon forest that acts as the greatest absorber of Carbon Dioxide, thus leading to Global warming. The situation will lead to more struggles of the oppressed in the coming days.

African country Ghana witnessed intense demonstrations few months ago, owing to rise in prices of essential commodities. Inflation rose above 27 percent this month. With intensifying economic crisis in Sudan, Sierra Leone and other countries, struggles are brewing up in the African continent also. Burkina Faso is going through a serious political crisis.

In India too there is a rise in the onslaught of Finance Capital. The Brahmanic Hindutva BJP government in the leadership of Narendra Modi is absolutely in the service of the imperialist MNCs and the domestic Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeois The Companies. recent Hindenburg report revealed the collaboration of Modi and Adani now described as 'Modani'. India is increasingly becoming a hub of industries set up by MNCs and have already been established. Apart from those in the domestic industries, struggles are also brewing in the Indian collaborations of the MNCs. For example, the workers of Zydus company in Sitarganj of Uttarakhand went on strike for 214 days by the third week of January 2023. They came under the umbrella of Zydus Wellness Employees Union affiliated to AICCTU and are fighting against the sudden closure of the factory. Zydus Company, that manufactures Complan and Glucon-D, with about 1,200 contract workers including 250 permanent workers, suddenly announced closure on 17th June 2022 throwing the workers and their families on the roads.

Almost all the main Trade Unions of the country united with the Unions of the employees of public and private sector banks and are holding General strike occasionally. This is yet to take a non-compromising, militant form in the leadership of proletarian Trade Unions.

Intensifying Crisis intensifies Resistance

The US is facing a record inflation at 7.4 percent even before the Ukraine war. The contention between the US and China is increasing and shall shrink the global economy by 1.5 percent that equals to 1.4 trillion dollars annually. This would cause a loss of double the amount to countries in Asia. Anyhow, the annual trade between the two top economies of the world is 600 billion dollars and both the countries need these transactions. There is one more important trend. The income of mega companies is on the decline. For example, the net income of Meta was 4.4 billion dollars in the third quarter of 2022 that was less than half of the same time the earlier year.

In UK inflation touches 41 years high. The EU countries set up an emergency cap on wholesale gas prices at 180 Euros (amounting to 191 dollars) per megawatt hour starting from 15th

February. In India unemployment situation touched 45 year high. The economic crisis is causing political crises in many countries.

Accumulation of capital in the current imperialist era is leading to more and more Mergers and Acquisitions. For example, the takeover of Twitter by Tesla giant Elon Musk. Finance Capital is spreading its fangs into all the oppressed and oppressor countries of the world. There are serious changes in the world capitalist order.

The situation is bringing in changes in conditions of Production and causing political crisis in few countries. The demonstrations held to sustain or to demand change in regime are related to the ongoing economic crisis all over the world. The overall situation in turn is leading to a wide spectrum of social, familial and cultural changes. The coming times would see more disorder in all sectors of human life. The imperialist war is already shattering human life, livelihood and families. The issue of refugees is going to become a yet bigger problem mainly in the European countries.

In this situation, the conditions of the working classes of the world are worsening. According to International Labour the Organisation's Global Wage Report 2022-23, there is a severe decline in the real wages of crores of workers all over the world. There is a stark rise in the disparity between the rich and the poor. The crisis of cost of living all over the world is pushing above 7 crores of people into utter poverty according to a report of the UNDP.

Activists staged severe protest at the World Economic Forum held in 2023 January in Davos. The slogans of these protests were

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ONE YEAR OF IMPERIALIST WAR AND ITS IMPLICATION ON GLOBAL POLITICS

- Prem

 ${\sf C}$ ommunists all over the world has rightly termed the Russian-Ukraine war as an "Inter-Imperialist" proxy War between Russian, America and NATO. They have able to counter the dominant narrative of the ruling class mass media of projecting the present war as a "war for democracy". The scale of killing in the ongoing war has astonishingly transcended the Second World War, as number of deaths amounting in lakh on both side of the border. According to a Mossad report published in Turkish site Hurseda Haber, the total casualties suffered by Ukrainians is around 391000. Out of which 157000 dead and 234000 wounded till February. On the Russian side the total number of casualties was 62880. The war has caused immense destruction to means of production, supply chains and to the purchasing power of the working class. It is control over the resources and the redivision of the world that has remained the motor force to the war and in history. All colonial and Imperialist wars was fought for the control over resources and market for the commodities for the industrialized nations, at present history is not repeating but continuing itself. The mode of production based on the private ownership of the means of production has led to an increasing exploitation of the working classes, degradation of the environment and the rise of fascist political system.

Russia and Ukraine War is been fought with great force in

the eastern region of Ukraine. As significant portion of this region at present lies under the control of Russia, with the help of NATO aids (America is ready to send Abrams tanks) Ukraine forces by autumn is expecting the success of summer offensive. UK has agreed to send depleted uranium

west of Donbass, so that it can gain an upper hand over the south which remains an important logistics region. Apart from these tactics, Russia is also planning organizational transformation from its Battalion Tactical Group formations to Soviet army's division structure which requires



shells for Challenger -2 tank is going to put millions of live exposed to the hazards of radioactive toxic elements. In the Donbass region, Russia has managed to inflict a heavy loss to Ukraine reserve forces. The battle in the Donbass was an positional battle. This has made the Russian army to gain an upper hand in operational initiative in the frontline. At present the Russian tactic has been to keep the attack intensity up on the front and diminish the ability of Ukraine to form reserves. Heavy fighting can be seen in Bakhmut in Donbass region and there is no denying of the fact that Bakhmut is going to fall in Russian hands is just a matter of times. The fall of Bakhmut will be an opening path for Russia to launch its attack on Slavyansk and Kramatorsk and move further towards the south -

an massive expansion of military - industry complex. There are every chances that the war can spread to former soviet union countries and if that happens it will convert into an third world war.

Economic sanctions have become an Avant-grade model for the US imperialism which has weaponised the global trade. In response to Russia's aggression on Ukraine, the west and NATO has relied on economic sanctions as a necessary tool to deter its economic conditions in terms of its export of oil and natural resources. But it did not succour the interest of the West and its allies. The western sanctions was composed on the belief that sanctions on Russia would turn it helpless and, thereby will erect a strong foundation for the vitality of US on the European lands. But,

things did not turned out as it was pleased to turn out. The sanctions have backfired on those countries that imposed them. In the lieu of the sanction, West was hoping that Moscow will turn into an economic pariah (as because Russia is the world's largest exporter of natural gas, second largest exporter of oil, and the third largest producer of coal). Though sanctions forced Russia to reduce the global supply of oil and natural gas, and has pushed up the prices too, but in the end, Russia was able to profit from the high prices of oil and natural gas in the world market, in spite of its export volume saw an sensational decline during the course of the war. Through this windfall profit by oil and natural gas trade, Russia have been able to launch post-winter offence.

According to IMF, the Russian economy was contracted by 2.2 percent in 2022, though it was predicted by the same body that Russia economy will contract by 8.5 percent. The Europe has managed to survive without the Russian oil and gas, as it imported expensive liquefied natural gas from US and from its reduced consumption of energy, putting pressure on the working class. The price caps on the Russian oil and further sanctions on Russia is going to aggravate the war. Russia can continue its war offensive on Ukraine as long as its revenues from the sale of oil and gas does not make a steep fall, and at present its foreign exchange reserves remains healthy. Any foreign funding in support of Russia in the present war remains totally out of question, which is not the issue in the Ukraine case.

The European economy is going through one of its worst period. In the year 2022, the

growth of the European economy was just 3.5 percent, and in the year 2023 it is expected to stagnate further. Germany which was highly dependent upon Russia for the supply of oil and gas to run its industries and power plants, and when that was destroyed (by America), it is facing its worst industrial crisis. The heavy industries are almost lockdown and its manufacturing sector declining, Germany was forced to purchase the highly inflated LNG from America and Norway.

Russia and China has become a closer allies in terms of strategic cooperations in defence, technology and trade. Moscow is Beijing largest arms suppliers and between 2014 and 2018 China's 70 percent of arms imports was from Russia. The supply of oil and natural gas from Russia to China has taken a mammoth increase since the start of war. Reciprocally, China's supply of semiconductor chips and other technological equipments, necessary both in military and civil areas has followed the similar trend along with the oil and gas supplies. Russia possession of huge reserves of oil, gas and other raw materials; its strong industrial base and military-industrial complex; all these brings it in a position to conflict with US imperialism. In Europe, the USA is using the conflict in Ukraine to pursue its aim to force the Europeans to cut their ties with Russia, and strengthen the grip of US imperialism over the whole Europe.

America through its effort of prolonging the war is hoping for regime change in Moscow.The western media is continuously giving a hype to the so called

'western unity' in order to hide the internal contradictions within the western camps on the course of the war. The tensions between US and Europe has escalated with the onset of war. These tensions can be noticed in the Europe opposition to the recent protectionist infrastructure bill by the US, as because the bill is going impact the industrial production output in the European countries. Furthermore, the Hersh report has exposed the cruel act of America in collaboration with Norway to destroy the Nord Stream 1 and 2 pipeline. Norway was eyeing on making easy profit by supplying oil to Europe at a higher price. And after the explosion of the Nord Stream 1 and 2 pipeline, Norway's export of oil to Europe doubled. In the years to come, the Norway's export of energy to Germany is going to increase further with new discoveries in the Artic region. Through bombing of Nord pipelines, US imperialism intention is to make European countries to be dependent upon for it's energy consumption. This barbarity was designed to sabotage any negotiation arising on the peace table for discussion. The present Russian-Ukraine imbroglio is nothing but a proxy war with Russia by US and NATO. The Pentagon leak document establishes the fact that, NATO has deployed its forces on ground in the Ukraine war zones. The onset of war on the European land has brought back the question of European security and its dependence on America for the fulfillment of its security concerns. The entry of Finland NATO is a well oiled program by the US to encircle Russia from the northern side and strengthen its grip over Europe.

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the war Zelensky declared that "Ukraine has United the world". But that is not the case. The war has United the western powers.The US Imperialism hegemony over the world is declining and that can be clearly noticed in the Russian-Ukraine war. Around 40 countries that covers almost 50 percent of the world's population have abstained or voted against motions condemning Russian invasion. Everyone is aware about the double speaking character of US when it comes humanitarian concerns or about protecting democracy. Russia and China is making an effort to capitalise on anti-colonial sentiment and anti- western hegemonic dominance (that is on rise in the global South) in order to establish its hegemony over the Global south. Economic sanctions on Russia by G-7 countries has pushed up the prices of food and oil, leading to almost food and energy catastrophe in the global South. There is no doubt that the western super powers can sustain the war because they have the financial and capital disposals in their hands. But the global south does not carry the same privileges. Apart of this, there is also an economic angle behind the global south denial of support to the west in its proxy war with Russia. The US global share of output has declined from 21 percent in 1991 to 15 percent in 2021. On the other hand, China's total share in output has increased from 4 percent to 19 percent in the same period. Europe is going through an unprecedented crisis of de-industrialization, high

inflation and financial crisis. This create a picture of vulnerability of the economy in the West which was not so clear before the advent of the war. At present many developing countries are trading in their regional currencies rather than being dependent on dollar as a 'universal money'. In the past few years China has become one of the largest producer of electric vehicles. This has led to a spur in demands of cobalt, lithium, copper and other rare earth metals. Most these resources are found in abundant quantities in Latin America. The rise of China as an economic power and the shift of balance of power in global south towards China is what the West, specially US is unable to digest. The recent deal between two hostile nations in the middle east- Saudi Arabia and Iran under the influence of China has demonstrated the growing influence of China in the region. The Gulf Nations, once considered to be an formidable ally of US, has tilted towards China. As because, China purchase of oil from the Gulf Nations have increase, while US has declined it's oil import from the Middle East. After the peace accord between Iran and Saudi Arab, the dominace of Israel in the Middle East region has been shattered. Alongwith that the Abhram Accords has lost its influence. The bone of contention between US and China is over Asia Pacific region and the continent of Africa, as this region is covered with vast swathe of natural resources.

There is a global decline of U S hegemony. It is also a fact that not all the countries in the global south are intrinsically anti- west or anti- US imperialism in its foreign policies. India which is a

fifth largest economy in the world is not free from western imperialism and especially US imperialism. Through Free Trade Agreement (FTA), Indian state under fascist BJP-Modi rule is wooing the foreign capital for investment in its domestic markets. The reason for Indian state not condemning Russia is not because of its non-aligned principle but, because of the fact the cheap Russian gas supply has brought immense profit to Ambani and Adani. Also India is signing defense agreement with US and Fascist Italy, and this states clearly the close proximity between the Indian ruling classes and the western imperialist forces. The fascist government of Modi is vaguely parroting that "this is not an era of war" to portray itself as the messenger of peace. But hardly such phrase mongering is hardly having any Crux of truth. As Lenin, clearly propounds that the era of Imperialism is nothing but an era of war, and as long as Imperialism exist war will be the reality.

Fierce competition for markets controls can be noticed between US and China. In 2020 the United Kingdom was forced by the US to drop its contract with Huawei. Apart from that US imposed sanctions on the company to block its access to advanced U.S. microchip technologies. As America is getting highly involved in the Indo-Pacific region and the relation with China is getting highly volatile, the danger of a much larger and devastating war is hanging over Asia. War over Taiwan will have far more catastrophic situation for the world economy. As the peaceful reunification with Taiwan is evaporating, the ruling classes of

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China has left only with forceful reunification, but that has to be passed through the paths of war. By only two ways China can invade Taiwan- through air and sea, but China at present is not in a condition to invade by any of these ways. The possibility of Chinese (direct) invasion of Taiwan is far off from the reality in the near time. Blocking the island will be the part of the Chinese plan over Taiwan. But, there are every possibility of retaliation by the US in similar manner. China imports oil from Russia through pipeline that runs through the central Asia but, still 80 percent of Chinese oil import transports happens through the Indian Ocean, and this makes it vulnerable to the eyes of the western naval forces patrolling in the waters of the Indian Ocean. America is playing the politics of provocation in the context of China by establishing military bases in the Indo- Pacific region and by sending its officials to Taiwan on regular basis. It is also building an extension of NATO in South East Asia with South Korea, Japan, Phillipines and Australia its primary allies. For establishing unilateral dominance over theIndo-Pacific region, American ruling class orchestrated multijoint alliances like AUKUS, QUAD and Five Eyes. AUKUS and Quad are platforms to counter the growing market and military power of China across the world by America. It is designed to create a "value regime" to counter its declining market share in the global trade. Recently commenced 368 billion dollar deal between UK, US and Australia to purchase nuclear submarines is nothing, but a preparations for war in the Indo-Pacific region.

The economic model of the world is driven by military Keynesian approach through which a significant portion of the state revenue is alloted to military and technological development largely devoted for developing sophisticated weapons. On the other side state reduces its social spendings aimed at the welfare of people and enforces austerity measures on the working class. Through Military Keynesian model, West has been able to attain its geostrategic goals and maintain its hegemony. In the past one year, the arms import in NATO countries have surged by 65 percent as per as the report published bγ Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). The report also noted that US arms export has increased at a swift pace from 33 percent to 40 percent. At present Germany has agreed to supply Leopard 2 tanks to Ukraine and America is supplying HIMRAS system and is also playing to supply Javelin and F-16 aircrafts in future. All these indicates that U S and NATO want to further provoke Russia and intensify the war.

The war has been used by the ruling classes of Western Powers and Russia to divert the people from the ongoing crisis of capitalism and from the severe hardship been faced by the working class. While the Interimperialist contradiction of the war is all too crystal clear, however its intensification is the result of other contradictions of the imperialist system. The intensification of other contradictions like between capital and labour, between the imperialist and the oppressed

nations is having intricate relation with the former. The economic cost of the War is being paid by the working class which is putting enormous burden on them. This is causing lot of resentment among the working class all over the Europe and in other countries. One has to raise voice against the war and need to build movements and mass demonstrations for establishing Peace in the world. But, like the ongoing war, peace should not remain an tool for maximization of profit. Imperialist wars, if they are left unopposed, than the conditions of the working class and the oppressed nations will further deteriorate. It is high time for the communists, and Revolutionary forces of the world to build united front against the imperialist wars and for the protection of the rights of the working classes and the oppressed nations, and save the world from imperialist war which is threatening to become a nuclear war. It is high time to build movements on the slogan of "BAN NATO", 'BAN Nuclear Weapons'. Imperialist wars only makes capitalists class more rich and the working class more pauperized. Communists and progressive sections must mobilise large section of people and build movement against the Imperialist wars all over the globe for establishment of peace and dismantling of all foreign military bases in all oppressed countries. The war has brought again a sense of purpose for the revolutionary and progressive organizations, furthermore it has brought a new energy to the working class movements which has shown strong determination and zeal to revolt against Imperialism.

CONDEMN AIRSTRIKES ON GUERRILLA ZONES IN PHILIPPINES, TURKEY AND INDIA

- Gargi

T he world proletariat needs to react to yet another old but new tactic on the revolutionary movement. It is the Air strikes.

The exploiters of the people indulge in any sort of inhuman action to serve their interests. One such is the aerial strikes on armed and nationality liberation movements. We witness frequent aerial strikes now in Ukraine and Palestine while it was in Iraq and Afghanistan earlier. The trend since the past two to three years is aerial strikes on the guerrilla zones established by the Maoist parties of the world. The first such attack was in Turkey way back in 2006 that caused severe loss of Central leadership for TKP/M-L. There was strong resentment mainly in Europe and also in other countries of revolutionary movement over the attack. Of late a member of the CC of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Turkey/Kurdistan (MLKP) Comrade Ahmet Sores lost his life in a drone attack along with another comrade Comrade Firat Newal, a young commander of the armed revolutionary forces of Kurdistan.

Since the past five years the Philippines government is making continuous aerial attacks on the forces of revolution and people with the support of the US imperialism. Comrade Helenita Pardalis, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Philippines (CPP) died in an aerial attack in 2022 November. The attacks started in

India from 2021 and continued one each in the consecutive years. The Aerial strike in Chhattisgarh on 11th January 2023 on the people and people's forces is yet another evidence to the nexus of the imperialists and the domestic comprador bourgeoisie of the semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries in suppressing the revolutionary movement.

The Indian state had been unleashing repressive campaigns one after the other in a bid to eliminate the revolutionary movement. Although it could cause considerable loss, it failed in its expectations. And so, a step up in its repressive actions. The Aerial strike is the third of its kind while the earlier two in the past two years were drone attacks. Unlike earlier, Civil rights groups were not allowed to visit the place of the aerial strike. The 16 rights' activists were denied the minimum facility to eat and stay. Even when the local people arranged in the panchayat office building, the police did not let them there. On behalf of them social activist Bela Bhatia stated that they in fact, informed the authorities of their visit. She said that in spite of this, they were stopped at three CRPF camps in their 36 kilometer journey from Sukma to Dornapal.

CDRO, a rights' organisation described the aerial strike as 'genocide of the state on its citizens'. It stated that it is in violation of international human rights and laws. It questioned why

the fascist government is so much interested in bombing the people during the harvest season. It demanded — 1. To immediately stop aerial bombing on the citizens 2. To call back the Army and Para-military officers responsible for the genocide 3. To identify Maoist issue as sociopolitico-economic question and to deal it politically

A civil rights organisation, Forum Against Corporatization And Militarization (FACAM) based in New Delhi that is working against the violation of rights of tribal people in the country released a statement in this regard. We give here the full text of the statement that explains the why and because of the attack —

On Wednesday, 11th Jan 2023, a joint operation was launched by Central Reserve Police Force, Greyhound and CoBRA (Elite Anti Naxal Squad), District Reserve Guard (comprising of Infamous SPOs of Salwa Judum) in the wee hours. According to the varying news reports, the attempt is to target an armed Battalion of CPI (Maoist) headed by a top Naxal Commander. Some reports have clarified that the operation is aided by Helicopters, Drone and Global Positioning Data. The aim is to hit the Telangana-Chhattisgarh-Odisha border region. It has come to our notice that a widespread aerial bombing campaign has been undertaken to that end in Madkanguda, Mettaguda, Bottethong, Sakiler, Madpaaduled, Kannemerka,

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Pottemangum, Bottalanka, Raspalli and Erpad of Pamed and Kistaram blocks of South Bastar at Chhattisgarh-Telangana Border, from 11 am onwards. According to a recent media report, it was claimed that the drones, supposedly to be engaged in surveillance missions on the Naxal movement, will be operated by the Indian Air Force personnel from the National Technical Research Organisation, which was set up with the aid of US intelligence operatives of NSA, pointing to an all-round offensive of State with the help of US.

This is not the first time that aerial bombing campaign has been undertaken in these regions to "eliminate the Maoists". Last 2 vears have seen aerial bombings in April of Year 2021 and 2022. Various villages bombed this time, have previously been bombed in above mentioned drone attacks of 2021 and 2022. It is dangerous that aerial attacks and all-out war is unleashed on the people in the name of countering the Maoist movement or Naxalites, which had, until now been considered a socio-economic and political question that requires political attention not military intervention. Regardless, the use of Aerial Attacks, Armed Forces and Air Force on the domestic soil in an 'internal conflict' of the country is in violation of various

international conventions and charters and amounts to war crimes. It is very important to understand that these very regions of Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Telangana, Maharashtra are rich in minerals worth billions of dollars and the US along with other imperialist powers and help from their Indian lackeys like Jindal, Tata, Adani and Ambani, are desiring to have unhindered control on the same. For this very reason of extraction, a political question of resource and land, has been rampantly turned into a matter of military intervention, similar to the lines of various Latin American Countries where US imperialism has plundered.

It is also very important to understand that the intensification of Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism is an important tool to aid the loot and plunder of land and resources of the people of our country and militarization plays a very important role in such onslaught. Under Fascism, socio-economic and political questions become a matter of military interventions and continuation of an intensified genocidal war against the people for plunder of resources are termed as "pro-development". This exponential intensification of military campaigns and trampling of very basic human rights, is also an attempt by the Fascist forces

to test the extent of our deafening silence and this onslaught is bound to increase at the very pace, if not opposed unitedly. At this hour of Brute militarization and Genocidal Military repression, Forum Against Corporatization and Militarization calls upon all the democratic, Conscious, justice and peaceloving people of the country to unitedly oppose the military repression on people of our own country and demand the Indian state to address the socioeconomic and political questions as such, through talks and deliberations. Forum also condemns in the harshest tone possible, this rampant use of aerial strikes and genocide against the people of the country and demand the following:

- 1. Immediately stop aerial bombings in Chhattisgarh-Telangana Border and elsewhere, on the people of our own country.
- 2. Immediately withdraw the troops from Chhattisgarh-Telangana border engaged in Genocidal operation.
- 3. Indian government must engage in political discourse with the CPI (Maoist).
- 4. Stop the loot of resources by imperialist backed mining giants.
- 5. Stop Operation Samadhan-Prahar. →

UNION BUDGET...

meagre of state and corporate power". After demonetisation, GST and Pandemic, the 20 top firms have accumulated around 80% of the nation's profit. But government has failed to generate any pro- people policy that improve the consumption

potential of the people. The budget has no agenda nor vision for job creation and improving the manufacturing sector. It rests on appeasing the comprador bourgeoisie and imperialist class in he name of Atma Nirbhar Bharat. Conditions of the toiling

masses are going to get worsened with such anti people approach of the government. "When the people shall have nothing more to eat, they will eat the rich", these words of Rousseau is going to be reality of India.

Krantikari Janatana Sarkar is the Organ of Peoples' Democratic State Power—An interview with the President of Division Krantikari Janatana Sarkar Committee

We bring before our readers an interview with Comrade Soni, the President of the Divisional Revolutionary People's Committee of South Bastar of Dandakaranya Special Zone and a member of the RPC Special Zonal Coordination Committee. She hails from the Dorla tribe in Kishtaram area of the division that falls under Sukma district of Chhattisgarh. She spoke about when she entered the revolutionary movement, what molded her into a revolutionary, how the RPC functions and the successes of the one and a half decades of its functioning.

What was your childhood like?

Our area was very backward during my childhood. I lost my mother at an early age. She tried to bring two drunk persons to terms when they had a scuffle. But instead she received blows that her body could not sustain. She was a mother of a threemonth old. At that time hospital was not accessible to us. So, my mother died of the injuries. It was 1988. I was the eldest of the five children of four sisters and one brother. I had to look after the family.

How did you enter the revolutionary movement?

Armed squads of the party were working in our area. The party organised the Dandakaranya Adivasi Kisan Mazdoor Sangathan (DAKMS), Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sangathan (KAMS) initially. My activity in the revolutionary movement started with the children's organisation, the Adivasi Balala Sangam in childhood in 1996. Martyr

Comrade Ramanna, member of the CC and the Secretary of Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee was the Commander and later a member of the Divisional Committee in the area. I remember the slogan he gave to our children's organisation -'Road roko - Talab banao' (it means, block the road and build a pool). I did not know the deep meaning of the slogan but roamed in their village together with the members of organisation chanting the slogan. I understood later that the slogan was to propagate that the need was to solve the shortage of water and not laying roads that are actually meant to exploit the resources and did not help the people much.

No health workers visited our village. The armed squads used to give medicines and treat the people. In 1997, Comrade Kamalakka of the Armed Squad introduced the names of medicines to me so as to help treat the people of the village. By the time KAMS was formed in our village. After I grew, in 1999, I

became a member of the village committee of the women's organisation. The next year I was elected the President of the Range Committee of Gollapalli in a Conference of KAMS.

When RPC was formed in our village in 2003 September, I was elected as the first President with 6 branches. I did not know how to function the RPC at that time. We were taught by the Party comrades. Thus, I gradually came to know. I was elected the first Vice-President of the Area RPC formed in December the next year.

During the period, on an occasion, people were fired at when they were holding a struggle for money to be paid for tendu leaf in Kishtaram. I was part of its leading team. A little later the party organised a famine attack on a merchant of a village on the border of Telangana that I lead. Both these gave me away to the police department. I was arrested.

Subsequently, I became a PR of the party and continued my responsibilities. I was promoted to the rank of Area Committee. In the end of 2006, I was elected the President of the ARPC. The process until here was a tough job without any earlier knowledge of reading and writing. When the ARPC was allotted Rs. 5 lakhs we did not know how to spend and manage the accounts. My

responsibility made me learn to read and write. Now I write, correct and prepare reports and accounts for my committee.

What is the meaning of 'Janatana Sarkar'?

Janatana Sarkar means People's government in Koya/Gondi language. It is the Strategic United Front of four oppressed classes. People themselves run the government. Yes. We have a flag. It is a Red flag with a Bow and Arrow and two stars in white. The bow and arrow stand for the tribal people's resistance and the two stars represent the tribal and nontribal people.

What is the objective of Janatana Sarkar?

The objective of Janatana Sarkar is to bring down the three exploitive classes of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism and establish the government of the four oppressed classes namely workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and National bourgeoisie. The Janatana Sarkar is to exercise people's political power in the areas where the exploitive state is destroyed and to build new democratic peoples' economy and culture. It works for the all-round development of the people with genuine а development model.

What is your political line in achieving New Democratic people's power?

The party took up Protracted People's War (PPW). People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) makes the war in the guidance of the party. As per PPW, that is the Strategy of Indian Revolution, the people's state power will be first formed in the interior forest areas, gradually extend to the plain areas

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and finally takes hold of the cities and establish the people's state power all over the country.

How do people understand Janatana Sarkar?

I shall explain through the example of a government reform called Indira Awaas Yojana. This is a housing scheme introduced by the Congress government. It was given wide propaganda. But in practice, the people saw that only the village gentry were receiving the benefits of the scheme. The party provided an alternative for the domination of the local gentry. It showed the path of PPW. The PLGA saved the people from the attacks of the police patronized by the village gentry. When Janatana Sarkar was formed it distributed land, Cows and provided all kinds of agricultural help to them. Thus, people understood that the Janatana Sarkar is their government, that they are the leaders and is for them.

I will explain the development model that the RPC is taking up. There is an acute shortage of water in the Division. The RPC took up construction of pools for irrigation and also cultured fish in those pools. Thus, they understood that the present government is an exploitive government and Janatana Sarkar is the people's government guided by the Revolutionary party.

Explain the relation between the Janatana Sarkar and the Party?

Without the Party the RPC would not have come into existence. The party and the revolutionary movement led the path to people's state power through organizing the oppressed

people in Mass Organisations and leading mass struggles. RPC is an embryonic form of this power. Starting from the level of RPC, the ARPC and the Divisional RPC, all are guided by the party. Members of the respective level of party committee are part of the RPC. This is the structure. In guiding the RPC, party follows the principle of Democratic centralism. Peoples state power is established by waging the peoples war by PLGA under the leadership of the party. Party guides the Peoples War in all the sectors and organises the entire oppressed classes and sections. In a process of gradual politicization and bringing down the exploitive power, peoples state power is established.

How does PLGA help the Janatana Sarkar?

Janatana Sarkar cannot exist without the protection of the People's Army. The Janatana Sarkar and PLGA have a dialectical relationship. The Janatana Sarkar places the alternate model of development for the people. It solves their problems. It stands against all the unscientific practices. It enlightens and inspires them of revolution. It recruits youth into PLGA.

Coming to PLGA, starting from the base force, i.e., the People's Militia, all the three forces including the secondary force and the main force protect, train and arm the people. Practically speaking, the PLGA stands shoulder to shoulder with the Janatana Sarkar in each and every occasion of the program and activity of the Janatana Sarkar.

How does the RPC function?

There are three levels of RPC in the division such as the village, area and the division. The village

level RPC meets once in one month or 2 months depending upon the conditions of repression. Any program of the RPC is discussed in the committee. After celebrating 30 years of the Dandakaranya movement in 2010, a program for levelling the land was taken up as a campaign. The campaign is going on for the past above one decade taking new forms every year. The RPC holds its meeting after which the nine branches of it also meet -Defence, Finance, agriculture, Health, education and culture, Law, forest, public relations and cottage industries. The committee discusses the needs, welfare and the problems of the people and the villages in its jurisdiction. The take branches up the of implementation the resolutions and decisions of the committee.

How does the RPC look after the welfare of the people?

RPC makes efforts to distribute seeds, solve the problem of lack of cattle, provides education, health care and financial assistance to the needy. It provides monetary help for patients of serious ailments to be taken to hospital in the nearby towns. Cattle are dying out of lack of fodder due to cutting of trees by outsiders and also due to unknown diseases. RPC is making efforts to appoint and train up veterinary assistants to solve the problem. On the other hand, it is also organising batches for agricultural work. There are batches in a village constituting 6 to 8 households that work collectively.

Of late, land problems are on the rise. Due to forcible eviction by Telangana government, people on the border of Telangana most of whom were those from the state of Chhattisgarh who fled there during Salva Judum are trying to return. Some of them are those who stood against the people and some belong to the village hierarchy. Few NGOs sponsored by CG government and Central government are working in this regard. This is nothing but conspiracy to create contradictions among people. Hence Janatana Sarkar took a decision not to allow them to return. However, it certainly supports their struggles for rights over the forest lands in Telangana.

Contractors, industrialists and business people come from Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh grabbing lands from tribal people illegally for mining, plantations and industrial purpose. They are planting Eucalyptus that drains the underground water levels. Apart from the government, white militia is also supporting the contractors. People are resisting mining projects plantations. They are burning the vehicles of contractors and expressing their opposition to the plantations. RPC is taking the issue on behalf of the people and dealing with the contractors. However, the Janatana Sarkars are considering the needs of the schools in the nearby towns and are allowing them to take fuelwood.

Paddy is purchased by the private traders for Rs.10-12 per kilogram. Most of the people sell to the traders. The reason being, although the government purchases for Rs. 19 per kg, it limits to 15 quintals per acre. The people demand the government to procure more paddy. The RPC propagates among the people to

fight for better remunerative prices. It works together with the **Revolutionary Mass Organisations** to mobilise the people in agitation on the demand. One more problem is the government is forcing the people to have land certificates. Without this, the children cannot obtain residence certificate and because of this, thousands of tribal children are deprived of high schools and higher education. When arrested, one cannot stand surety for bringing their kith and kin on bail. But RPC opines that there is no need for land certificates. The land belongs to the people. Although the land certificate is meant to certify the ownership of land, in fact, fake certificates are created to forcibly acquire the land by corporate companies and the government. This process is only to establish the control of the exploitive state on the people.

Tell us about the developmental activities taken up by the RPC

Cottage industry is one of the branches of the RPC that takes up developmental activities among the people. Earlier, RPC provided financial assistance to start small shops in the village. But the police pestered them when they went to get material for sale and turned some of them informers. RPC also finances tailoring machines. The necessary training is given by the tailoring department of PLGA. The cottage industry department also takes the responsibility of fixing rates for forest produce that the people sell in the weekly markets, together with the Revolutionary Mass Organisations.

This apart, a market committee is formed that is dealt by the ARPC. The members of the committee are from the RPCs of

the area. The task of this committee is to check whether the rates for forest produce are being implemented properly or not. It also deals with the traders for rational prices of essential commodities. The weight of the forest produce is being measured through digital machine. This machine shows less weight and deceives the people.

Tell us about the successes of RPC in the past years

RPC took up production in a large scale. The land levelling campaign is a big success of the RPC. It educated and motivated the people to raise production of crops. Due to the efforts of the health department of the RPC in raising the consciousness and understanding of the people towards health care, people got used to having medicine for diseases. Parents are increasingly sending their children to schools. Schools were originally set up in every village of the RPC. In addition to these, the RPC runs residential schools. After having educated here until 5th or 8th, parents are sending their children to the towns to study up to at least 10th or 12th standard.

Owing to repressive measures of the exploitive government, the educational activity of the RPC is facing a problem. The teachers in these schools are being harassed by the police forces and so one is hesitant to take up the job. Few teachers of the RPC schools were also arrested and implicated in false cases. So once a teacher is appointed in a RPC school, he or she cannot go around freely to the weekly market, to hospital and so on. So, now we are facing problem of appointing part-time teachers for RPC schools. Full-time activists of the party are working as teachers in the schools. Presently there are 4 residential schools in the division imparting education to a total of 200 students.

On the other hand, the exploitive government, instead of encouraging the people's welfare activities, is making attacks on the schools run by the Janatana Sarkar. It is trying to lure the students by offering them books and other related material. RPC is trying to overcome the problem by enhancing the understanding of the people about the false claims of the exploitive government and raising their consciousness about the benefits of strengthening people's state

Women's empowerment is one important aspect. To what extent is the RPC successful in this regard?

Women are very much part of RPCs. They are holding responsibilities as the in-charge of a branch of the RPC. They are part of militia. However, RPC is yet to break the chains of patriarchy to involve women more and on equal terms in the RPC. But then, coming to recruitment into PLGA women equal the men in numbers. This has to be advanced in a qualitative manner.

Does the Janatana Sarkar support the ongoing struggles against Corporatisation and Militarisation?

Of Course. Janatana Sarkar is with the people in every moment and movement. The people are fighting against the displacement caused by the government in the interest of the feudal and big bourgeois classes. The government is setting up heavy carpet security to facilitate mining and industrial projects of the MNCs and Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie. The struggles gained momentum since 2019 and presently demonstrations are going on in at least 26 places all over Dandakaranya. RPCs established close relations and is supporting these mass struggles through its Public Relations department.

How is RPC able to work amidst repression?

Repression, mainly carpet security is coming in the way of the functioning of the RPC. Implementing the decisions made by the concerned RPC has become a tough job. We decided to form RPC in a limited manner with 3 or 5 important branches in areas under regular police vigil. But in practice, we are not able to avoid exposure. According to one of the members of an RPC where a police camp exists, 'Duvval Payyurnagga manji bele beedaayakom?' (how can we work when we are near the mouth of a Lion). In fact, the leaders and activists of the RPC are regularly harassed, arrested and even killed in fake encounters by the armed forces of the exploitive government. While they take protection from PLGA, there are occasions where few of them were caught. To put it in one word, people are striving to establish their state power only through immense sacrifices.

What is your assessment of the advancement of the revolutionary movement?

People strongly feel the need of the party in each and every aspect of their life. They are preparing for more sacrifices for revolution. With the joint efforts of the PLGA and the RPC in the guidance of the party and people's participation in People's War, revolution will certainly advance.

EWS, CASTE QUESTION AND

RESERVATION

- Sidhart

m The Supreme Court of India by upholding (in a five bench judge) the 103rd Constitutional Amendment Act of 2019, has laid down an precedent for the removal of affirmative action granted by the Constitution on social and educational backwardness. In its majority judgement of 3:2, Supreme Court upheld the constitutional validity of 103rd amendment. In 2019 BJP government at the centre brought 103rd constitutional amendment to provide 10 percentage reservation to Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) that has historically not experienced any form of social and educational backwardness and discrimination. The 103 amendment introduces Article 15(6) that enables state to make 'special provisions' in regard to any economical weaker sections of citizens apart from social and educational backwardness as mentioned in clauses 5 and 4. Through the inclusion of clause 6, state is enabled to provide reservation to **Economically Backward classes** which does not include those castes and communities that are entitled to reservations on group basis. The dissent view was mainly circumstanced by the exclusion of SCs, STs, and OBCs from the Economically Weaker Sections. This is judgement out rightly denies equality of opportunity to majority of people. Though it is a different matter to argue that whether Article 15(4) inscribed in Part-III of the Indian Constitution is a fundamental right or an enabling provisions. If it is an enabling provisions than the

special provisions for the alleviation of socially backward castes and communities fails to stand as a fundamental right. And the state cannot be held as accountable for its failure to implement those provisions. What we need to understand here is that, already the reservation provisions existing in Article 15 (4) is fragile and allowing 10 percent reservation for EWS from non SCs-STs and OBCs is nothing but a nail in the coffin.

period of time so as to become a vested interest", and that (ii) "the new concept of economic criteria...may go a long way in eradicating caste based reservation". It amounts that EWS is specifically a political motivated law that wills for derepresentation of oppressed castes from the public space. Through EWS, the oppressed castes are going to experience



The majoritarian view in the EWS judgement is apparently manuvadic, as one of the judge Justice Pardiwala, who wrote the majority view (3-2), himself said that EWS reservation in the long run will be fully capable of eradicating caste based reservation. He wrote that "the idea of Baba Saheb Ambedkar was to bring social harmony by introducing reservation" in the Constitution, but that (i) "reservation should not continue for an indefinite

social death that amounts to devoid of the claims over sacred resources and of right to justice. EWS carries the act of "misframing" the dimensions of reservation as articulated in the principle of social justice. The effort is to exclude the overwhelming majority from participating in the metadiscourses that determines the authoritative division of space.

In a caste graded society like India, reservation has always been the norm and the social functionality has never been free from it. Brahmins ascribe to itself the monopoly over the reading of scriptures and shudras are obliged to do the menial labours. This clearly states that, social exclusion resides in the tentacles of social relations but that social relations never remains statics and undergoes historical changes is what Historical Materialism succinctly teaches us. In spite of caste system being underwent transformation, Dalits and other oppressed castes continues face discrimination on every day basis. Reservation is an effect of Caste system not the cause it, that is quite opposite from the understanding of the Supreme Court judgement.

SCs. STs and **OBCs** undergoes two forms of social discriminations one distributive discrimination and second as status discrimination. Social exclusion is embedded in the present existing social relations. It is the very core of the social relations through which dominance is established over the political, economic and cultural aspects of society. In various ways social exclusion led to the deprivation and poverty. In one sense the deprivation that is caused by social exclusion is multidimensional in nature and acts as a principal of deniability of equality of opportunity in an multidimensional sphere. As

caste is embedded both in the base and superstructure, exclusion in India predominantly revolves around the caste system and its institutions. Caste system stand as a direct opposite to ideas of Equality and Liberty. It devalues the individuals from the oppressed castes both in life and death. The primary unit in a caste based society is never an individual but it is the caste of that individual that stands as one of the organising principal of Indian society. Hence, rights and duties of that individual exist in the interest of the caste system.

Criteria for allotting Reservation to EWS

Reservations granted to the Scheduled castes and Tribes and Other Backward classes under Article 15 and 16 are not based on the caste per se, but precisely on the principle of social and educational backwardness arising from caste based discriminatory While granting system. reservation to Economically Weaker Sections, BJP government without conducting any scientific survey or studies framed an arbitrary criteria for allotting reservation in terms of income basis. Those criteria are described

- a) Person belonging to a general category who does not cover under any reservation earns a gross annual income below Rs 8 lacs.
- b) Person holding 5 acres of land or above are excluded from EWS.

- c) Ownership of flat measuring 1,000 sq. yards and above denies reservation on EWS criteria.
- d) Ownership of residential plot of 1,000 sq. yards and 200 sq. yards and above in the notified municipalities and nonnotified municipalities respectively does not include in the EWS reservation criteria

Basing on the Periodic Labour Force Survey Report of 2019, it can be stated that more than 90 percent of Indians earns an annual income below of 8 lacs per annum. India is having one of the lowest employment in the organized sectors. "In 2020-21, only 21 percent of those employed were in regular employment." Whereas, other 23 percent were engaged as casual labourers and 56 percent were self-employed. In terms of their average earnings workers who were employed in the formal sectors was around 1 18,238 and ¹ 19,103 over a period of 30 days. The earnings of those who were self-employed were 1 11,184 to 1 11,976. The average earnings of casual labourers varied around 1 311 to ¹327 per day. It is from the oppressed castes that forms the majority of casual labourers in India. Supreme Court judgement on EWS reservation was hailed as "social justice to the country's poor". But byy going through the data on poverty, we find that in India around 80 crore people live below poverty line. government statistical mind states that those who are earning ¹ 75 is above the poverty line and those earning 2,222 ¹ a day is labelled as economical weaker. This is how the BJP government is going to do social justice, by turning it on its head. As it is a

clear fact that it is the people from the oppressed castes who fills most of the space in the below poverty line. According to Census of 2011, it is only 5.5 crore people who belonged to the below poverty line are from the general category.

Land not only remains as one of the important means of production in the agrarian economy but also it stand as a symbol political and social privileges. In India, because of the persistence of the caste system, land is still under the control of few dominant castes. This destroys the capabilities of a large section of "human capital". This also narrow down the availability of choices which exist in abundant manner for those castes that are traditionally land owners. As Sharma (1994) opines that 'to those who possess land, especially the higher echelon among them, not only the local level institutions such as panchayats, co-operative and so on are more easily but a better accessible negotiating is available to them to with the world' (Sharma, H. R "Distribution (1994): Landholdings in Rural India, 1953-54 to 1981-82", Economic and Weekly, Vol. 29, No. 39). Around 60 percent of the rural households are landless agriculture labourers and majority of them are Dalits. They composes around 37 percent of landless labourers and 10 percent are from tribals population. The rest are included from "artisans and cultivating castes" (CPI Maoist - Caste Question, Second (Amended) Edition-2021). Indian agriculture is dominated by small and marginal production and around 80 percent of agriculture farmers belongs to small and marginal category. Though we see

a decline in the landless of the Dalits from 1960s to 2012-13 (in 1960-61landless households accounted around 1.59 percent and in 2012-13 it stood around 0.68 percent) but that has not withered away the effective landless conditions. Whatever lands allotted to the Dalits or to landless labourers are of nonagricultural nature and quantity of that land is not feasible for practicing agriculture. Still after 75 years of farcical independence, informal credit system continues to blossom over the landscape of rural areas. Through this informal credit, the caricatures of feudal system like usury and bonded labours still firmly holds the grounds. It strictly enforces the caste based regulations. Even after the nationalization of Banks in 1970 and through the process of institutional credit, informal credit system remains an only channel for credit for the marginalized communities. These small and marginalized farmers are heavily indebted to large farmers and landlords (who also happens to be from upper castes), there is no question of capital accumulation for the time being.

In one of the research study done on the Brick kiln workers in Telangana it was found that majority of the workers in the Brick kiln sites were from Odisha. In terms of the social composition of these workers, the study found that 58 percent of the workers were from scheduled Castes, 22 percent and 19 percent were from **OBCs** and **Scheduled** Tribes respectively. Most of the Brick kiln workers are mainly from Balangir district of Odisha and out of 7lac and 20 thousand workers population around 2 lac 70 thousand migrate to Andhra Pradesh and Telangana as Brick kiln workers every year. In another research done of the ten hill districts of Uttarakhand in 2013 (as mentioned below) found the percentage of out-migration higher among the Brahmins and Other Castes (OC) than that of SCs.

As there is lack of social networks and social supports like food, accomodation, financial help and job search help among the Dalits which remain one of the main reason behind their marginal migration. Also the above study revealed that because Dalits are denied equal educational opportunity and that results to lack of awareness and urban contacts. This leds to the prevalence of low wages jobs and withering of right to dignity among oppressed castes in the hill districts of Uttarakhand.

The study of intergenerational occupation mobility (2007) done by Sociologist Satish Deshpande and Suhas Palshikar states that in the upper-middle occupation the proportion of SCs rises from 8 percent to 11 percent which stands in sharp contrast to the proportion of upper castes that remains around 47 percent to 54 percent respectively. About twothird of Indian bonded labourers belongs to SCs category and 20 percent from STs and the rest from BCs. There has been no bent in the atrocities cases against the SCs as during the period between 1994-2014, a total of 2.43 lacs cases of atrocities were registered that on a daily basis amounts to 13,000 cases per day.

In the year 2000 out of total undergraduate students only 8.6 percent were SCs (in spite of having quota of 15 percent) and 18 percent were STs (with a quota of 7 percent). In teaching posts the situation seems to be worse.

In a total of 700 teachers in postgraduate departments, merely 7 were from SCs category and 2 were from STs Category. Whereas, in a total of 4,512 teachers in university affiliated undergraduate colleges, only 11 were SCs and none were from STs. The representation of the SCs, STs and OBCs in the Class-I and Class-II is disproportionally represented whereas their representation in the oppressed and menial jobs is over represented. Even with the existence of reservation system the conditions of the oppressed communities remains to be pathetic. There has been serious lack of political will in the implementation of the reservation principle and because of that in the past 50 years only 1.7 percent of Dalits.

Reservation is the tip of the lceberg.

The growth in India is driven by low productive economy where half of the workforce languish in low productive agricultural sectors and low remuneration service sector. Though we see in the corporate media the story of India becoming the fast growing economic power, but at the same time there are core contradictions

resulting directly from the anti people economic model of development. Overall, the public spending on basic needs remains compressed, real wages growth is stagnant, there exist low and depressive employment generation potentiality, agrarian crisis and deterioration of mass consumption demand, these all defines the economic model of India. The development model initiated from the time of Nehru to Modi has hardly generated decent job- growth. Access to dignified employmentsm reamin fairly limited as long as Bureaucratic Capitalism persist. The privatization of Public Sectors in the period of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization is shrinking the employment potentiality in the non-farm sectors. After the structural adjustment programs there has been declined in the growth of agriculture sector and in the year 2013-14 it fell down to 18.2 percent. In 1993, the non-farm jobs accounted for merely 19.2 percent but in the year 2011-12 it went up to 38 percent. These states that the present agrarian crisis is the material force behind the growing demands for reservations among the savarnas castes like Jats, Kapus, Marathas and many others. Even the nonfarm jobs have largely been in the service and construction sectors. The comprador bureaucratic capitalism with in alliance with imperialism and feudalism remains to be hurdle for building a egalitarian society. The agenda of BJP and RSS behind EWS is to make the already weakened reservations for social and backward castes communities dysfunctional and to deviate the masses from building mass movements against the growing unemployment and pathetic social and economic conditions.

BJP and RSS is moving tactically in it's agenda of diluting reservation for the oppressed castes. By privatization of the public sectors and outsourcing of works in government jobs at an lighting speed, reservation policy have already become ineffective. At present the oppressed castes needs to build movements against the ruling classes and it's representative the Indian state. There has to be a unity of oppressed castes, working class and peasntry struggles against the BJP- RSS government. →

GLOBAL...

working class as because of the economy entering into the slump.

Many apologist of capitalism and the BJP government are saying that the present crisis is not going to have an global impact. In their view, India is going to remain immune from the present crisis, but the Indian banking system is already facing huge NPAs (Non Profit Assets) problems. The comprador bourgeoisie of India

has taken immense amount of loan not from the Indian banks but, from the foreign banks and it suggests that Indian banks remains incapable to finance high investment projects. About 80 percent of the finance of Adani for high capex projects are from foreign banks. With high interest rate and the present crisis prevailing the refinancing of those funds is going to be more dearer. This lead to tremendous pressure

on the Indian economy and the toiling masses. Working class movements are spreading like a wild fire and in the coming days it is going to be more radical and militant. Revolutionary forces need to mobilise the working classes and the toiling masses for mass upsurge and utilise the objective conditions to strengthen the revolutionary mass movements all over the world.

Joshimath – 'State'-Made disaster Time to fight Unscientific Projects

-Bharathi

The 'cracks' in welfare perspective of the Indian state led to the 'cracking' of walls of houses in Joshimath of Uttarakhand and Doda of Jammu and Kashmir. While the very slow sinking of the Himalayas had been in discussion for the past decades, the government is only concerned about the so-called 'China' problem on the border and the 'militancy' in J&K in the Himalayan region.

Joshimath is a small town in the state of Uttarakhand. In spite of repeated reports from the environmentalists and scientists the government paid least attention to prevent the present situation. According to the scientists – 'The Himalayas are still rising as the Indian tectonic plate is pressing against the Eurasian plate. The entire Himalayan -Hindukush area is prone to shifts from seismic activity - it is an earthquake prone area'. A research found out that the motion of the Indian plate is more than 5.5 cm per year. Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) reported that the region experienced a decline of around 5 cm between 27th of December 2022 to 5th of January 2023.

The Rishikesh-Badrinath Highway and the Tapovan-Vishnugarh Hydropower project of the National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC) led to massive flash floods and landslides in the recent times. In spite of warnings from experts the governments led to these and loss of people's lives. Scientists said that the projects will be at risk and also cause heavy risk. The people of the area are up against NTPC to save their lives and residences.



place needs to be scientifically evaluated for construction of buildings. The governments keen on only providing profits to the MNCs and domestic comprador bureaucratic capitalists never do this. There have been many instances in the urban areas including the metropolitans where indiscriminate construction caused lowering of constructed buildings. This was because the underground streams saw another way to flow when there was a construction on its way. Most of the Earthquakes are 'man-made' as the scientists put it. The construction of mega dams on ever flowing rivers not only caused drowning and drying of villages and agricultural lands, but also earthquakes.

Now Joshimath became the scape-goat of the government's attitude. The government clearly knows that Joshimath is sinking. It appointed the collector of Garhwal to make an investigation into the reasons many decades ago. The MC Mishra committee released a report saying that Joshimath was located over an 'ancient landslide'. It also said that since the ground is a mixture of sand and stone it is prone to gradual collapse.

There are already reports about similar such conditions in places in the Himalayan region. In Doda district of Jammu houses starting giving cracks. Nearly 60 to

70 houses in Nai Basti of Thathri town of the district started to crack. All the residents of the village vacated their houses. The government responded in the minimum manner. It shifted 19 families to safe locations after 3 houses turned into a heap of debris. The alarming fact is that above two scores of houses developed cracks in just 24 hours.

In Doda too, the reasons are similar. Nai Basti is a remote village 30 kms away from Doda town. According environmentalists, construction of power projects and laying of roads took place in the Pir Panjal mountains that separate Doda with the other districts. The hills were considerably cut. This apart, the J&K government's interest in development of its kind against the safety of the people led to expansion work on National Highway 244 that connects Doda and Kishtwar districts. All this increased land subsidence.

Whether in Joshimath of Uttarakhand or in Doda of Jammu and Kashmir, the issue to be raised is not purely environmental. In fact, it is more of the anti-people unscientific attitude of the governments. This needs to be questioned and fought out. Given the intensifying flow of foreign capital into the country, democratic, patriotic, revolutionary, environmental organisations need to pay more attention on these issues.

'Patriarchal' drone surveillance

The exploiter state always finds news ways to control people. When it comes to the people of areas of revolution, it is utmost anti-human and violates all kinds of religious and social customs. For the people of Dandakaranya Special Guerilla Zone, the year 2023 started with an aerial strike in Sukma district of South Bastar and a 'patriarchal' drone surveillance in Narayanpur district of central Bastar. The drone that the police use to survey the movements of armed squads picturized bathing women of a village.



The incident took place in the second week of 2022 December. It is a well-known fact that the people of Chhattisgarh of India are fighting against the setting up new police camps mainly in Sukma, Bijapur, Narayanpur, Bastar, Kanker, Manpur districts.

The police released drones as a part of their aerial surveillance near the newly set up camps in Beheraweda, Dondrewada and Eetampara near Sonpur of Narayanpur district. The tribal women of the villages were having bath in the nearby stream. Drones have become an ordinary feature in Dandakaranya. They are used to see the drones flying on the top of their villages. They did

not understand that the drones were doing something else.

Only when the social media carried the videos of the bathing women, people and activists came to know of the cruel deed. The people were very angry with the incident. They gathered in large numbers and questioned the police of the deed. They demanded the government to punish the responsible police officers.

Regime of Fascist Terror in Kolhan region of Jharkhand

In the name of annihilating the Maoist party from Jharkhand, over the last few months, Kolhan forest region in the West Singhbhum district of Jharkhand is under series of continuous, rapid and severe fascist onslaught by the Indian state. There is not a single day since December, when there has not been firings from sophisticated assault rifles, there has not been single day, when the terrains of adivasis of the Kolhan forest belt has not been bombed from sky. Motor shells and Rocket launchers has caused havoc in the day to day life of adivasi. All these weapons of mass destruction are been used in those regions where struggle against Imperialism, struggle against accumulation of profit by CBB, struggle against the plunder of the resources are being waged by the original inhabitants of India.

In the Kolhan forest region around 100 villages flourishes in the green cover of the forest. It lives with the nature, communicates with the nature and survive with the nature. But this bond of two life- one of human and other life is getting choked from the state led violence. The life of this villagers have become precarious and is on the verge of

getting extinct sooner or later. For intensifying its onslaught, in just three months i.e. from 10 October, 2022 to January 11, 2023 five Armed forces camps has been established in the Kolhan region. These camps are nothing but a personification of fascist power structure. Through this Armed forces camps, the Indian ruling classes in collaboration with the Imperialism has unleashed a regime of terror on the adivasi people. Few examples of fascist onslaught:

a) Between 1 December and 2 December, 2022 around more than one thousands paramilitary forces started firing in the Tilyebeda and Husupi areas from morning 8:15 am and continued till 5 pm in the evening. During this time period, around more than 200 shells were used by the security forces. Then again the cycle of state violence continued the other day. On 2 December, from morning 8 am to afternoon 12 pm more than 100 motor shells and Rocket shells were fired in the surrounding forest region of Tilyebeda and Husupi panchayat areas. After returning from their search operation the Armed forces committed a most heinous act. In the Boyepai panchayat region the fascist forces forcefully took away the food from one child's hand gave it over to the security forces and the remaining food was thrown on the ground. In India poor people are having no value at all. Even instances of people's foods being burned by pouring petrol has been reported.

b) From 11 to 12 December, another search operation was conducted in the Hanjebeda region and in the Tughlai mountain areas. During its operation, security forces launched indiscriminate firing and bombing of the region. The people of this areas are leaving in a state of constant fear.

At present, Kolhan region have been encircled by the CRPFs and Cobra battalions from the ground. Heavy surveillance and firings are also continuing from the sky in form of Combat drones and helicopters. All these remains a testimony of what kind of development model is the Indian state pursuing. development model impoverishes the majority of the population, uproots the people from their habitat, from their lands, from their culture from their families. Brahmanical Hindutva Fascist state has created its own Abu Gahreb in the forest belts in central India. But, the people are not going to surrender in front of their bombs, in front of their bullets, in front of fascist onslaught. They will raise their fist against the regime of fascism and will march together in millions even with their injured pairs of legs and finally will establish people's democracy all over the nation.

Retired Police Officer's deposition in Bhima Koregaon case Proves NIA wrong

In the Bhima Koregaon conspiracy case foisted upon 16 activists, a senior police officer admitted that the Elgar Parishad event in Bhima Koregaon on 1st January 2018 has nothing to do with the violence that happened on the day. Sub-Divisional Police Officer Ganesh More who retired recently deposed before the twomember judicial commission appointed by the government. It is known to all that the National Investigation Agency (NIA) foisted cases against 16 activists that they 'provoked' the people gathered for the event.

It might be reminded that a celebration of the historic battle

in Bhima Koregaon happens every year on 1st January. That was the 200th Anniversary of the battle. Dalit, democratic, cultural organisations attended the meeting during which there was violence and the people were beaten. After some time, the police filed case on the activists claiming that they were responsible for the violence and that they also conspired to murder the Prime Minister.

The SDPO told the commission that he investigated into nine cases of atrocities filed within his jurisdiction and that they did not reveal any role of the Elgar Parishad meeting. To quote More, 'I did not come across any information or material to show that the incident of riots which took place on 1st January 2018, was a result of holding of Elgar Parishad on 31st December 2017 at Shaniwar Wada, Pune'.

The deposition is the first of its kind in which an individual from the state admitted that the event is no way concerned with the violence. In fact, the Dalit and democratic organisations came out with a statement at that time that RSS activists Milind Ekbote and Sambhaji Bhide led the havoc. They and several organisations subsequently started questioning the rationale behind the allegations of the state. They condemned the government's attitude and said that this is a violation of fundamental rights of the citizens and part of Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist repression.

Another witness Ravindra Sengaonkar, a retired IPS officer said that the speeches at the meeting were 'provocative', but admitted that the police did not immediately register any FIR. The lawyers on behalf of the arrested have been claiming that the case was foisted much later and that it is a deliberate conspiracy of the government. The judicial commission had been investigating since 2018 with more IPS officers and others yet to be examined.

Nearly 25 FIRs were registered on the right-wing forces, mainly of Ekbote led Samasta Hindu Aghadi and Bhide led Shivpratishthan Hindustan alleging them to be responsible for the violence of the people.

The facts revealed later by these organisations were that the Hindutva men rallied carrying saffron flags. They recited, 'Hindus must pick up weapons against those who do not accept their religious beliefs'. The violence was planned by these forces in a bid to suppress the Dalit, democratic and revolutionary organisations. The Bhima Koregaon case is a creation of the Indian state to silence any voice against it and for the people.

Report of ICSPWI Action Day

The International Committee to Support the People's War in India (ICSPWI) called upon to hold Action Day on the 24th and 25th of February 2023 in protest to the ongoing war in Ukraine, on the occasion of one year of the beginning of the war. The call was to hold rallies, meetings, photo and video exhibitions of the war, burn the effigies of the imperialists Joe Biden, Vladimir Putin and Volodymyr Zelensky, perform song, dance and dramas all about the reasons, vested interests and consequences of war.

As per the Action Day, meetings and programs were held in various places across Europe.

The slogans -

- Workers and peoples of the world, unite against imperialism!
- Revolution stops the war War unleashes revolution!
- Imperialist capitalism is in crisis!
- Long live Socialism and Communism!
- Long live New Democratic Revolution!

In Switzerland, The Young Communist League of Switzerland held the Days of action in various cities. On the occasion the League published a leaflet propagating against the war. On the 25th, the League held a demonstration in Zurich sloganeering 'Down with war! For peace and friendship between people's!'. It also held a high banner with the slogan 'Swiss weapons: Only for us!' and 'Already against the next war'. The demonstrators also gave the slogans such as 'Long live International solidarity', 'Class against class, war on war, fight capital until peace prevails'. 'In every war, in every land, cash is made by a swiss bank', 'Swiss soldiers out of Yugoslavia', 'The main enemy is at home, fight and resist' and 'Swiss weapons, Swiss money, help to kill around the world'. The activists distributed flyers to the people going around. The demo was followed by a performance of the red rap collective Yenan.

The Revolutionary Youth Zurich joined the League in the demonstration with a banner 'Fight together against their wars! No war but class war'. The MLKP held a banner that said 'Proletarians of all countries,

unite! No pasaran! Everywhere is resistance'. Few other revolutionary organisations also joined the demonstration.

The police were present at the place of the demonstration in numbers much above that of the demonstrators. The press wrote against the demonstration portraying it to be pro-Russian. 'Tagesschau' showed it prominently on the evening of 25th.

In Basel, a demonstration was held on 24th with a banner that read 'No war between people's, no peace between classes. Not a single Swiss soldier, not a single swiss weapon, not a single swiss bullet to foreign countries. For a broad movement against imperialist war - no matter if it comes from west or east! August 1 - International Day of Action against wars of aggression'. Caricatures of the US, Chinese, Russian and Swiss imperialism were included in the banner. These apart, stickers were put up with two of the slogans in several workers' neighborhoods. Flyers were distributed to young people and pro-imperialist propaganda was removed.

Anganwadi workers hold state-wide strike in Chhattisgarh

Anganwadi workers are the most exploited among the government employees in Chhattisgarh. In this exclusively women's job, mostly belong to lower middle-class who work for their livelihood. Some of them go to remote tribal villages also. With the rising unemployment, many are the sole bread winners of the family. Anganwadi worker is paid from four and a half to five and a half thousand rupees depending on seniority and the level of the

Anganwadi centre. The worker is helped by an associate called 'Sahayika' who is paid a just 1500 rupees. Both the worker and the sahayika have to pay for curry given to the children daily in their meals. The government supplies rice and nothing else. As per the rules the government has to provide eggs, ground-nuts and such others.

Coming to work, the workers have to teach the children in the morning. In the afternoon they have to visit houses and provide medicines and necessary health education to pregnant women. They have to fill up nearly 14 registers that inform the birth, death, pregnant women, ill-health and so on. Wages are not paid in time. Bills for reimbursement of the expenditure for children's meals are not cleared for months. After repeated intermittent agitations for the past so many years the workers and sahayikas of the state took up a state-wide strike.

Nearly 46,660 Anganwadi workers and 6548 mini-Anganwadi workers and sahayikas came together from 23rd January to demand the government to solve their just demands. The women's militant struggle shook the entire state. However, the government shamelessly increased a mere one thousand rupees for the workers and the sahayikas in the budget session. Perhaps this being the last session of the government's tenure.



Condolences

Red Salutes to Comrade Ahmet Sores

'People's March' pays revolutionary homage to Comrade Ahmet Sores (Zeki Gurbuz), member of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Turkey/Kurdistan (MLKP) who laid down his life in an armed drone attack in Rojava Region on 3rd January 2023. Comrade Firat Newal (Ozgur Namoglu), a young commander of the armed revolutionary forces of Kurdistan also lost his life in the attack.

Born in an oppressed class, Comrade Ahmet experienced the exploitation on the oppressed. He became conscious of the fundamental problems of the people of the country and understood that revolution is the only way.

Comrade Armet fought with fervour to liberate his land and his people. He laid down his life in the fascist attack of the ruling classes that is being unleashed in all the countries of revolutionary movement such as Philippines and India. His

revolutionary work makes him live forever in the hearts of the oppressed people of the world.

Red salutes to Comrade Ahmet!

Red Salutes to Comrade Helenita Pardalis, Member of the CC, CPP

'People's March' pays revolutionary homage to Comrade Helenita Pardalis, of the member Central Committee of the Communist Party of Philippines who attained martyrdom in aerial bombing on 23rd November 2022 along with five more comrades. The attack is part of intensified repression on the revolutionary movements and nationality liberation movements of the world.



Comrade Helenita became an activist during the period of martial law. Her activity continued in the process of fight for her husband. abducted subsequently joined the NPA and worked among the peasant masses. She held responsibility of the secretary of a guerilla front and later a of a Regional member Committee.

The CC appointed her as the Deputy Secretary of the National Peasant Commission. She was a delegate to the 2nd Congress of the CPP in 2016 November where she was elected as a full member of the CC. She was the beloved leader of the people in Eastern Visayas and contributed a lot to the expansion and intensification of guerilla warfare.

Ka Elay as Comrade Helenita Pardalis is fondly called lives forever in the hearts of the people for whom she worked and laid down her life. She stands exemplary to all the revolutionaries of the world, especially the woman revolutionaries.

Red salutes to Ka Elay!

MOUNTING...

'World Economic 'Failure'' and 'Tax the rich'. Demonstrations are also being held during the G-7 and G-20 meets protesting the overpowering attitude of these alliances towards the oppressed people and nations of the world.

It is interesting to know the way unions are motivated in the US. A labour organisation trains the organisers that are called 'Salts'. 'Salt' works among the workers in a particular industry or firm and drives them to form a union. They will have to face severe risk in this process. The

Inside Organiser School was formed in Silver Spring in Maryland to train salts. Another important development is that few workers are forming independent unions apart from traditional unions such as the AFL-CIO since these unions work for the pro-corporate Democratic Party. ALU is one such independent union. The Workers United union of Starbucks is relatively independent but affiliated to the Service **Employees International Union** (SEIU). Another independent labor union was formed to organise the service-sector

workers in the South namely the Union of Southern Service Workers.

The ongoing developments reveal that future is going to witness more unionising and more struggles of the working-class and on the whole the toiling masses. Revolutionaries must think why working-class struggles are not breaking in countries like Bangladesh, where imperialist exploitation of labour is extremely high. It is for the working class, democratic, revolutionary parties and organisations to consolidate the struggles into worldwide proletarian struggle.

Observe the revolutionary May Day. Build Political militant working class and peasant movements in India against the Fascist BJP Four Labour Codes, anti-farmer's policies and all anti people policies of the government

Comrades, this time we are going to celebrate May Day at that historical juncture when the global Capitalism is undergoing one of its worst crisis. Imperialism is staging severe repression and exploitation on oppressed countries and its toiling masses as well as all over the world. Inter- imperialist wars are intensifying and is heading towards nuclear war. The proletariat all over the world has today transformed into a mere appendage to supply-chains as a source of surplus value. This has degraded all the elements of its existence and devoid it's humanely life, compelling it to revolt against this given reality of Capitalism that dehumanizes the vast majority of the human population. In semi- feudal and semi-colonial country like India different forms of capital coexist and the working class exist into different contingent. Still in India labour is not entirely free as it is in the capitalist country and there is prevalence of the process of surplus extraction via the unpaid domestic labor, labor bondage and casual labor. Social and economic inequality has taken a giant leap since Modi came to power. Top hundred billionaires in India controls wealth of around 54 lakh crore. Such a huge amount is enough to finance the union budget for 18 months at least. Concentration of wealth and resources in the hands of exploitative classes has caused tremendous distress in Indian economy and to the working class.

BJP government policies at the centre and other ruling class parties at the state has failed to create favourable conditions for the accumulation of profits for the small, medium as well as large scale farmers. According to the last census, the total population of landless labourers was around 14 crore, and going by the recent trend their population has further increased. Around 83 percent of rural households holds less than 30 percent of land, and this clearly states the concentration of lands in the hands of new feudal landlords and corporate classes.

Around 90% of the labour force in India is involved in informal sector. In the financial year 2022-23, around 10,655 micro, small and medium enterprises have closed down and this is the highest in the past four years. This informal sector constitutes around 30 percent of the economy and 40 percent of the labour force has been struggling from demonetization, GST and Pandemic. According to NCRB report 2021, around 80 thousand daily wage laborers have committed suicide in the last two years. In fact it is not a suicide but a murder orchestrated by the ruling classes.

Trade unions in India rather being having partisan approach towards working class movements, it is in fact adjusting itself to the compulsion of the system. In front of the concentric power of the capital and the government, the working classes is divided into diverse isolated parts. Trade unions are not taking the working class movements' one step further in terms of political directions. At present the working class movements are displaying spontaneous consciousness that is largely linked to the dominance of partial demands as put forwarded by the Trade unions. Unions Strikes have become formal in essence which is losing its potency for any minimum transformation in the living conditions of the working classes in India. Between 1991 and 2022, there has been a total of 21 strikes call given by the central trade unions, but all these strikes could not put any pressure on the state and it depicts a kind holiday strike. The Indian working class movements is passing through a toughest time in its history and only through having a clear political approach of forming unity with the peasantry and other toiling masses it can overcome from its persisting weakness. Today trade unions all over the world are under the grip of revisionist and social democratic forces which has entangled the working class movements in the chains of economism and reformism. It is the duty of the working class to fight against this anti proletariat ideology by building militant working-class movements and must move forward in the aim of capture the political power.

Comrades,

The existing production relations is exploitative and is acting as a fetter on the development of the production forces. The persisting backwardness of the Indian production relationship that is connected with the imperialist Monopoly finance capital, Comprador Bourgeoisie capital and landlords are impediment to the overall development of the working class and the masses. The Indian working class and the peasantry must overthrow these fetters by making New Democratic Revolution successful and by marching towards socialism.

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